

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

The Dilemmas Of Public (Middle) Managers Under NPM: Implementing Public Service Outsourcing In Ghana's Health Sector

Thesis

How to cite:

Tengey, Samuel (2010). The Dilemmas Of Public (Middle) Managers Under NPM: Implementing Public Service Outsourcing In Ghana's Health Sector. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 2010 The Author



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000c4e5>

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk



Samuel Tengey BEd, DIP (Econ)

**Implementing Public Sector Outsourcing
in Ghana: the dilemmas of public sector
managers under new public management**

This thesis is being submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The Open University Business School

September 2008

Date of submission: 30 September 2008
Date of award: 22 January 2010.



EX12

RESEARCH SCHOOL

Library Authorisation Form

Please return this form to the Research School with the two bound copies of your thesis to be deposited with the University Library. All candidates should complete parts one and two of the form. Part three only applies to PhD candidates.

Part One: Candidates Details

Name: SAMUEL TENGEY PI: WG140057Degree: PhDThesis title: IMPLEMENTING PUBLIC SECTOR OUTSOURCING
IN GHANA: THE DILEMMAS OF PUBLIC MANAGERS UNDER
THE NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

Part Two: Open University Library Authorisation

I confirm that I am willing for my thesis to be made available to readers by The Open University Library, and that it may be photocopied, subject to the discretion of the Librarian.

Signed: Parm Jones Date: 27/01/2010

Part Three: British Library Authorisation [PhD candidates only]

If you want a copy of your PhD thesis to be available on loan to the British Library Thesis Service as and when it is requested, you must sign a British Library Doctoral Thesis Agreement Form. Please return it to the Research School with this form. The British Library will publicise the details of your thesis and may request a copy on loan from the University Library. Information on the presentation of the thesis is given in the Agreement Form.

Please note the British Library have requested that theses should be printed on one side only to enable them to produce a clear microfilm. The Open University Library sends a soft bound copy of theses to the British Library.

The University has agreed that your participation in the British Library Thesis Service should be voluntary. Please tick either (a) or (b) to indicate your intentions.

(a) ☒ I am willing for The Open University to loan the British Library a copy of my thesis.
A signed Agreement Form is attached

(b) ☐ I do not wish The Open University to loan the British Library a copy of my thesis.

Signed: Parm Jones Date: 27/01/2010

ABSTRACT

Globally, public management underwent substantial reforms over the past three decades. Known as new public management (NPM), reforms have sought to redefine the role of politicians and public managers, redesign public organisations for enhanced autonomy and effectiveness, and restructure service delivery by integrating private organisations to ensure competition believed as necessary for efficiency. Premised on tensional forces of public choice' and 'managerialism' the NPM model potentially creates conflicts between managers and professionals. Developed in OECD countries, and applied to less developed countries (LCDs) with generally ineffective public sectors; and admittedly an engrained corruption culture, NPM reforms are typified by increased bureaucratic centralisation, which restricts professionals' discretion. Using semi-structured interviews and a range of qualitative analytic devices, this thesis examines the challenges professional managers encounter under senior managers, when some support functions were privately outsourced, in line with NPM, in two corporatised hospitals in Ghana.

Findings suggest professionals feel by-passed, their discretion restricted, and their expertise ignored by senior managers, generating clashes over mediating the conflicting dualities of cost/quality, results/procedures, and output/outcome. Conceptualised as resistance strategies, professionals' response(s) to the encountered issues portrayed appreciable unconventionality and non-deviance, coming close to individualised version of work to rule, and professionalised version of weapons of the weak. Such professionals' resistance strategies elucidate the complexities of Ghana's embedded political, economic and socio-cultural context. The

findings suggest the true outcomes of NPM reforms within this and similar contexts are masked, distorted by the refracting effects of corruption, producing a type of bureaucracy that encourages reduced devolution, tending to inhibit rather than aid effective delivery of public services.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Numerous individuals and organisations have contributed diversely to the success of PhD thesis, but the contributions of the following are particularly acknowledged.

The Almighty God for the good physical and mental health and the motivation to persist even in those turbulent times when I felt like quitting the PhD programme;

My wife Grace, for her sustained support and sacrifice in various ways but particularly for giving up her education to support my studies;

My children Sam, Maggie and Yayra for bearing with me during those uncomfortable moments;

My internal supervisors: Dr Richard Holti, Dr Diane Preston, and Dr Steve Little for their incredibly immense support and mentoring;

The Grant Administrators and the Research Directorate, Open University Business School for sponsoring my PhD, including foreign travels for fieldwork, and conferences;

The Staff of the Research School for their incredible support in time of difficulty;

My OU colleague PhD students especially Seema Sarma, Haoda Sun and Kassa Woldeesenbet (now PhD) with whom I could freely share my frustrations and joys;

Dan Egedi and his family for their moral and financial support, including sometimes proof-reading my drafts; and

Sena Nkrumah-Acheampong for her guidance and help with the contents page

CHAPTER ONEPage 1

NPM Reforms: Public Sector managerialism and Professionalism and the Research Context

- 1. Introduction
 - 1.1. NPM reforms and managerial professional relationships
 - 1.2. NPM reforms in developing countries and associated issues
 - 1.3. The Contextual Environment: Ghana’s Political Economic Ideology, Public Sector Landscape and NPM Reforms
 - 1.3.1. *A sudden conceptual shift in public policy*
 - 1.3.2. *NPP and Current Public Sector Reforms: Policy framework*
 - 1.4. Public sector reforms and NPM in Ghana’s context: contemporary issues
 - 1.4.1. *NPM, Outsourcing and the Legal framework in Ghana*
 - 1.5. Economic, political and socio-cultural factors from Ghana’s context
 - 1.6. Inadequate NPM research on NPM in LDCs: Implications for research and public management practice
 - 1.7. The Research
 - 1.8. Order of chapters
 - 1.9. Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEWPage 37

NPM: a system of managerial, organisational and service delivery reforms

- 2. Introduction
 - 2.1. The building blocks of NPM (main doctrinal areas)
 - 2.2. Public choice Theory

- 2.3. Managerialism
- 2.4. The distinctiveness of NPM: Bureaucracy, Traditional Public Administration and NPM
- 2.5. What is being reformed?
- 2.6. The Benefits of Corporatisation
 - 2.6.1. *Contemporary Issues in Corporatisation*
 - 2.6.2. *Corporatisation: Functionaries, functions and procedures*
- 2.7. Outsourcing as NPM strategy
- 2.8. The potential benefits of outsourcing: why organisation outsource
- 2.9. Theoretical basis of outsourcing
 - 2.9.1. *Resource-based theory (RBB)*
 - 2.9.2. *The resource dependence theory (RDT)*
 - 2.9.3. *Transaction cost theory (TCT)*
 - 2.9.4. *Agency cost theory (ACT)*
- 2.10. A working definition of NPM
- 2.11. Criticisms of NPM: internal inconsistencies, tensions and contradictions in NPM
- 2.12. Broad contemporary issues on NPM reforms
- 2.13. Contemporary issues in NPM reforms: implications for middle managers
 - 2.13.1. *Decentralisation/ semi-autonomy under corporatisation*
 - 2.13.2. *Public sector efficiency argument: ideological or evidence-based?*
 - 2.13.3. *Breakdown in public service values*
 - 2.13.4. *Clash between empowerment and reinforcement of control*

- 2.13.5. *Conflicts over professional values and managerial objectives*
- 2.13.6. *Corruption as cause or effect of corporatisation/ NPM*
- 2.13.7. *Tensions between private and public sector values and objectives*
- 2.13.8. *Middle managers: control, disillusionment and resistance*
- 2.13.9. *Personnel and HR practices*
- 2.14. Why NPM reforms have failed to perform well
- 2.15. Why reforms fail in developing countries
- 2.16. Conclusion

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW II Page 99

Management and Professional Relationships in the Context of Managerialism and Professionalism

- 3. Introduction
 - 3.1. Professions, professionals and professionalism: definitional issues and features
 - 3.2. Debates about professionalism and professionalisation
 - 3.3. Questioning the claim of professional autonomy
 - 3.4. Dimensions of autonomy
 - 3.5. Managerialism and Public Sector (new) managerialism
 - 3.6. Managerialism and managerial devolution/authority
 - 3.7. Conflictual and antagonistic relationships
 - 3.8. NPM, professionals and professional resistance in developing countries
 - 3.8.1. *The weapons of the weak (WOTW)*
 - 3.9. Collaborative and Collisional managerial-professional relationships

- 3.10. Outsourcing public managers and professionals
- 3.11. Conclusion

CHAPTER FOUR.....Page 129

RESEARCH OUTLINE AND DESIGN

- 4. Introduction
 - 4.1. Research Framework
 - 4.2. Research Focus
 - 4.3. Research Questions
 - 4.4. Research Methodology
 - 4.4.1. *Research History and Pilot Studies*
 - 4.4.2. *Research Sites and Choice of Cases*
 - 4.4.3. *Installation/ Maintenance*
 - 4.4.4. *Cleaning*
 - 4.5. Method of Inquiry
 - 4.5.1. *Data Collection*
 - 4.5.2. *Data Analysis*

CHAPTER FIVE Page 159

DATA ANALYSIS

- 5. Introduction: Background to KATH and KBu
 - 5.0.1. *Governance and Autonomy Status*
 - 5.0.2. *The process of decision making*

- 2.13.5. *Conflicts over professional values and managerial objectives*
- 2.13.6. *Corruption as cause or effect of corporatisation/NPM*
- 2.13.7. *Tensions between private and public sector values and objectives*
- 2.13.8. *Middle managers: control, disillusionment and resistance*
- 2.13.9. *Personnel and HR practices*
- 2.14. Why NPM reforms have failed to perform well
- 2.15. Why reforms fail in developing countries
- 2.16. Conclusion

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW II Page 99

Management and Professional Relationships in the Context of Managerialism and Professionalism

3. Introduction

- 3.1. Professions, professionals and professionalism: definitional issues and features
- 3.2. Debates about professionalism and professionalisation
- 3.3. Questioning the claim of professional autonomy
- 3.4. Dimensions of autonomy
- 3.5. Managerialism and Public Sector (new) managerialism
- 3.6. Managerialism and managerial devolution/authority
- 3.7. Conflictual and antagonistic relationships
- 3.8. NPM, professionals and professional resistance in developing countries
 - 3.8.1. *The weapons of the weak (WOTW)*
- 3.9. Collaborative and Collisional managerial-professional relationships

- 3.10. Outsourcing, public managers and professionals
- 3.11. Conclusion

CHAPTER FOUR.....Page 129

RESEARCH OUTLINE AND DESIGN

- 4. Introduction
 - 4.1. Research Framework
 - 4.2. Research Focus
 - 4.3. Research Questions
 - 4.4. Research Methodology
 - 4.4.1. *Research History and Pilot Studies*
 - 4.4.2. *Research Sites and Choice of Cases*
 - 4.4.3. *Installation/ Maintenance*
 - 4.4.4. *Cleaning*
 - 4.5. Method of Inquiry
 - 4.5.1. *Data Collection*
 - 4.5.2. *Data Analysis*

CHAPTER FIVE Page 159

DATA ANALYSIS

- 5. Introduction: Background to KATH and KBu
 - 5.0.1. *Governance and Autonomy Status*
 - 5.0.2. *The process of decision making*

- 5.0.3. *The administration of outsourcing contracts*
- 5.0.4. *Background to Installation/Maintenance Cases*
- 5.1. What issues do managers encounter?
 - 5.1.1. *Issues relating to rationale for outsourcing*
 - 5.1.2. *Issues relating to decision making*
 - 5.1.3. *Issues related to the nature of NPM and peculiarity of research context*
- 5.2. Professional Middle Managers
 - 5.2.1. *Issues relating to the rationale for outsourcing*
 - 5.2.2. *Issues relating to decision making*
 - 5.2.3. *Issues related to the nature of NPM and peculiarity of research context*
- 5.3. Coping strategies employed by managers
- 5.4. Cleaning Cases: Background
- 5.5. What issues do managers encounter?
 - 5.5.1. *Issues relating to rationale for outsourcing*
 - 5.5.2. *Issues relating to organisational decision making*
 - 5.5.3. *Issues related to the nature of NPM and peculiarity of research context*
- 5.6. Coping strategies and resistance techniques
- 5.7. Experiences of Service Providing Managers
- 5.8. Conclusion
 - 5.8.1. *Installation and Management*
 - 5.8.2. *Cleaning*

6. Introduction

6.1. Issues and challenges professionals encounter

6.1.1. *Issues related to rationale for outsourcing different functions*

6.1.2. *Issues relating to involvement of professionals in outsourcing decision making: the contradictory role of middle managers in the decision making process*

6.1.3. *Conceptualising the decision making structure and dynamics*

6.1.4. *Issues and challenges introduced to managerial-professional relationships by the conflictual and paradoxical NPM and the socio-cultural and economic context of Ghana*

6.2. The Political Context

6.3. Managerial Context

6.4. Professional Context

6.5. Senior managers' experiences

6.6. Issues Professional Middle Managers' experienced due to the conflicts, contradictions and tensions inherent in NPM

6.6.1. *Procedures versus results*

6.6.2. *Cost-quality/ output-outcome conflict*

6.6.3. *Reduction in professional autonomy and discretion*

6.6.4. *By-passing professionals' advice and relying on external consultants*

6.6.5. *Restricted access to organisational resources and information*

6.7. How professionals responded: coping strategies

6.8. Conceptualising Professionals' Coping Strategies

- 6.8.1. *Disengagement and withdrawal*
- 6.8.2. *Control, resistance, compliance and consent*
- 6.8.3. *Individual action as against collective action: micro level resistance*
- 6.8.4. *Control attempted through resistance*
- 6.9. Conceptualising the mode of resistance
 - 6.9.1. *Work to rule*
 - 6.9.2. *Expert power*
 - 6.9.3. *Weapons of the Weak*
- 6.10. Interpreting managerial-professional relationships with reference to Ghana's economic, political and socio-cultural context
 - 6.10.1. *Power distance*
 - 6.10.2. *Age-and-status-based respect*
 - 6.10.3. *Chieftaincy and traditional authority*
 - 6.10.4. *Absence or distortions of democracy in LDCs*
 - 6.10.5. *Party Politics and political differences and party politicking*
 - 6.10.6. *Outcomes of attempts to control corruption*
 - 6.10.7. *Trust/ mistrust*
 - 6.10.8. *High unemployment rate*
- 6.11. Summary of factors determining issues of concern to PMMs and their adopted coping devices
- 6.12. What lessons can we learn from questions 1 and 2 above to move forward our understanding of the implication of the interaction between managerial

authority and professional autonomy for NPM reform outcomes in a
developing non-Western country context?

6.13. Contribution to the NPM Model and its applicability to LDCs

6.14. Contribution to managerial-professional relationships in the public sector

6.15. Reflections and Conclusion

CHAPTER SEVENPage 287

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

7. Introduction

7.1. Major Changes

7.2. NPM Reforms in LDCs

7.3. Redefinition and re-categorisation of public managers

7.4. Summary and Implications of Research Findings

7.4.1. *Rationale for outsourcing*

7.4.2. *Major issues and challenges*

7.4.3. *Professional Middle managers' coping devices*

7.5. Implication of my research for NPM reforms in LDCs

7.5.1. *What may inform the decision by public organisations to outsource?*

7.5.2. *Major issues encountered in managerial-professional relationships*

7.5.3. *Professionals' coping strategies*

7.5.4. *Implications*

7.6. Conclusions, Recommendations and Future Research

7.7. Reflections

REFERENCES Page 311

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Guide347

Appendix B: Pilot Study Interview Guide.....351

Appendix C: Interview Transcript Extracts (Chief Executive, KATH)354

Appendix D: Interview Transcript Extracts (Manager, Biomedical Engineering KBu).....359

TABLES

1.1. Politico-Economic and Public Sector Landscape of Ghana13

2.1. Summary of Doctrinal Areas of NPM38

2.2 Three Sets of Public Administration Values.....48

2.3 Public Administration Chestnuts compared with NPM.....51

4.1. List of Managers Interviewed (Installation & Maintenance).....151

4.2. List of Managers Interviewed (Cleaning)153

5.0. Governance and Management Structure (KATH & KBu)161

5.1. Responses from Senior Management (Installation & Maintenance).....165

5.2. Responses from PMMs (Installation & Maintenance)175

5.3. Responses from PMMs (Cleaning)192

FIGURES

4.1.	Framework for Understanding Issues faced by PMMs	134
6.1.	Rationale for Outsourcing Different Functions	217
6.2.	Political/Managerial and Professional Context of NPM Reforms	227
6.3.	PMMs' Coping Strategies	245
6.4.	Framework for Understanding Managerial-Professional Relationships	269

ABBREVIATIONS

NPM new public management

LDCs least developed countries

LDC least developed country

PMMs professional middle managers

SMs senior managers

PA public administration

TPA traditional public administration

NPP New Patriotic Party

PNDC Provisional National Defence Council

NDC National Democratic Congress

CPP Convention People's Party

CHAPTER ONE

NPM Reforms: Public Sector managerialism and Professionalism and the Research Context

1.0. Introduction

This thesis investigates the experiences of professional middle managers (PMMs) with new public management (NPM) reforms in two corporatised health institutions in Ghana. It examines the challenges that NPM, as a bundle of public sector reform practices, presents to PMMs [particularly in a less developed country (LDC)] whose work has been brought under [contract] senior managers in recent times. In this thesis, I employ NPM as a label that encapsulates the ideologies and reforms strategies understood by a number of commentators as prescriptions for improving public management globally. In that sense, NPM-type reform is generally viewed as a paradigm shift in public administration and its values, a point I return to later in chapter two.

But the question of what there is that is uniquely different about NPM, which distinguishes it from traditional public administration has to be answered in order to give the former a shape and form. In answering this question, it is fair to state that emphasis on the crucial role of managers in effective public service delivery, the supremacy of private management models over public management, and increased collaboration between the public and the private sector are core to the NPM model. These, together with the commonly cited seven doctrinal areas (Hood, 1991), constitute the fundamental building blocks of NPM. It is these ideals that NPM architects who saw NPM-type reforms as the global solution to the public sector problem (Hood, 1991) have vigorously promoted. Indeed an over-

deterministic view of NPM has been projected by the NPM architects, which Manning (2001: 300) vividly conveyed:

NPM carried overtones of the end of history [in public management], suggesting that we were lucky to be in public management at a time when *the truth* [about public management] has been discovered.

This over-deterministic viewpoint projects the era of NPM as a climaxing of public management practice, and NPM as the new found solution [panacea] for public sector ills. This rapid popularity of NPM was underlain by two major factors: (i) ideological factors such as the rise in Right-wing politicians in Western countries who saw the State as the problem due its scope, size and methods (Whitfield, 2001; Olowu, 2002) and; (ii) economic and fiscal crises of the welfare state, drawing attention to the importance of economic theories such as public choice and new institutional economics including managerialism (Minogue et al, 1998; Olowu, 2002). Indeed, while not implying any direct causality, I suggest the period of NPM, oriented towards private sector managerialism, also parallels an era where the activities of public managers including public sector professionals received increasing attention from analysts and commentators. Questions the above emerge from that context include, for instance, what are some of the challenges that professional middle managers face? What strategies do they engage in coping with the identified challenges? What lessons can we learn from all this to enrich our understanding of professional middle managers in the context of NPM? These and other related issues form the core of this research.

The aim of this chapter therefore, is to introduce the broad issues that constitute the background and context of this research, and present the major theoretical issues and debates germane to this thesis. This is accomplished as follows. In the next section, a summary of issues central to managerial-professional relationships in the public sector is presented, followed by a brief discussion of the major challenges with respect to NPM reforms in LDCs. Some space is devoted to setting the background to the contextual environment of the research. This is accomplished in three ways: tracing the historical antecedent of the political economy of Ghana from the early post-independence years up to the era of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) which ended in 2008; presenting a succession of public sector reforms within that era and relating how these tend to shape public sector management practice; and summarising the social, economic and cultural orientation of Ghana, which present a lens through which to interpret and understand the reactions and interactions that occur between managers and professionals in this study. A brief introduction to the research, drawing attention to the main and supporting research questions follows, and the chapter ends with a presentation of the order of the chapters in the rest of this thesis.

1. 1. NPM reforms and managerial-professional relationships

At the core of the NPM agenda is the drive for public sector organisations to attain efficiency, effectiveness and economy (3E's) in the delivery of public services. Indeed, attaining this objective has called for emphasis on the centrality of managers, the emphasis on the supremacy of private business practice, and the increased integration of private enterprises in providing public services (Hood, 1991; Aucoin, 1990). Consequent to this, professionalism, typified by professional autonomy has come to be subsumed in

managerial objectives, has been re-evaluated to reflect these developments. Indeed, NPM reform practices have introduced a number of issues into the relationships between [senior] public managers-whose main preoccupation is ensuring the achievement of efficiency, economy and effectiveness (3E's) in the public sector, and professional middle managers-who are generally believed to be committed to ensuring equity and quality in public service delivery (Hutton and Massey, 2006). A central theme in these analyses has been whether and the extent to which public service provision can be designed to ensure the attainment of the 3E's whilst ensuring professional standards are neither compromised nor professional autonomy sacrificed or jeopardised. Ensuring the attainment of both these objectives has remained a significant source of conflicts under NPM.

Essentially, the extent to which NPM reforms become successful would be largely influenced by how effectively and realistically the managerial objectives and professional autonomy dilemma is reconciled. Research has suggested that managerial-professional relationships have assumed various dimensions. On the one hand, they have been characterised by antagonism and conflicts, while on the other, by collaboration and compromise (Exworthy and Halford, 1999). Moreover, professionalism under NPM has become a much complex and continuously negotiated subject due at least to two basic reasons. First, the NPM agenda represents the recognition of the need to increase managers' power to manage in ways that lead to improved efficiency and to address the real public sector challenge confronting the welfare states, once dominated by professionals. In that sense, the NPM agenda might unavoidably involve curbing professional autonomy where necessary as suggested by analysts such as Clarke and Newman (1995) and Clarke et al (2000). Second, professionals are generally believed to advocate equity and fairness in the delivery of public services by maintaining an ethos consistent with public service values,

and opposed to private sector values in various ways. Professionals are believed to insist professional values are not sacrificed for management-inspired efficiency objectives by demanding professional autonomy, which ensures they perform their duties with restricted managerial control.

Admittedly, neither the argument promoting increased managerial authority over professionals nor that advocating professional autonomy could be sustained to any appreciable degree. On the one hand, professionals' commitment to protecting the public interest cannot always be guaranteed (Le. Bianic, 2003). On the other, there are truly concrete accounts establishing a necessary connection between the increase in managers' power [combined with truncated professional autonomy and discretion] and improved services at lower costs (Dixon, et al, 1998; Christensen and Laegreid, 1999; 2002). In fact, some analysts have argued that strengthening managerial authority, leading to the jettisoning or truncation of professional autonomy has led to the promotion of corporate welfare rather than improving public services and citizens' wellbeing (Whitfield, 2001). It is how these two (managerial control/authority and professional autonomy) interact in public organisations implementing NPM-type reforms, where some functions are outsourced to private sector organisations, and the implications for managerial-professional relationships of the issues arising from such interactions that this thesis project aims in part to investigate and elucidate.

When examined in the context of LDCs such as Ghana where this research was based, these issues become much more complex than might initially appear. Admittedly, while the harmonisation of managerial authority and professional autonomy does present substantial conceptual and practical challenges-tending to inhibit reform success-these are rendered

even more complicated, further compounded by a range of factors with respect to socio-cultural, political and economic organisation of the local context. These local factors also tend to evolve public sectors with certain characteristic features (discussed in latter part of this chapter), which set the limit to NPM reform success. There seems to be a missing link in much analysis of NPM-type reform outcomes in LDCs in the sense that analysts have often failed to take on board these local factors in their critique of NPM reforms in these countries. The magnitude of this oversight is brought to a sharp relief when viewed against the backdrop that bundles of reforms labelled NPM were first introduced to public sectors of developed OECD countries whose social, economic, cultural and political contexts remain significantly different from those of LDCs (Hood, 1991; Bale and Dale, 1998).

Ignoring these contextual differences, endowed with a ubiquitous features and viewed as a global panacea for all public sector ills, NPM ideas were quickly transported to many parts of the developing world through the activities of international consultants (Hood, 1995) principally via the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Whitfield, 2001; Stevens and Teggemann, 2003). In consequence NPM-type reforms in LDCs have suffered a number of setbacks (see chapter two). As I suggest in the conclusion chapter, the institutional response [from the international community] to failed NPM reform projects and the ensuing analyses have often placed corruption and inefficiency at the centre of project failures. While NPM reform failures can surely be explained by reference to the above factors, there seem to be other equally potential, yet hidden causes, which have not received much analysis. For instance, only few analysts have examined how particular local conditions such as culture, politics and social organisation could affect reform outcomes at the institutional level. There is greater need for the analysis of how the conflicts generated by the harmonisation of managerial objectives and professional values

under NPM reforms are managed at the institutional level, and how local factors could potentially shape such conflicts. This calls for the examination of managerial-professional relationships and interactions as NPM reforms are implemented at the institutional level.

It is this shortfall in analysis that this thesis has partly attempted to address. In the section following, I briefly examine NPM reforms in developing countries in order to draw attention to both some of the pertinent issues which are central to LDCs NPM reform, and the challenging environments in which reforms have occurred (see chapter two for fuller analysis).

1. 2. NPM reforms in developing countries and associated issues

As a set of reforms NPM was transported to many countries outside the OECD countries. Within a decade from its invention such reforms had spread into many parts of the developing world, where public sector-values, ethics and ethos, and socio-economic and cultural contexts are substantially diverse from those of OECD countries (Polidano, 1999; Condrey et al, 2001). Unsurprisingly, the transposition of such reforms to LDCs has introduced a range of problems, which invariably impacted reform outcomes negatively (McCourt, 2001). Available array of research evidences (Polidano, 1999; Condrey et al, 2001; McCourt, 2001; Hope and Chikulo, 2001; Awortwi, 2002; Manning, 2001; Olowu, 2002) suggest that with few exceptions NPM reforms have been far from successful. Fundamental to such failures is the uncritical way in which reforms were implemented. Manning (2001) vividly summarised this:

The pre-1990s debates on the generalised applicability of NPM reforms to developing countries in the early 1980s were surrounded by great enthusiasm', and devoid of scepticism and critical analysis.

As Sutch (1999) observed, such an enthusiasm waned substantially however a decade after the introduction of reforms, giving way to more thoughtful scepticism about their generalised applicability and universality orientation. This led authors to argue that any consideration of NPM in LDCs must begin by developing their public sectors through strengthening their bureaucratic systems (Tengey, 2006) and with the assessment of the extent to which it achieved what it claimed to offer in its home territory of OECD countries (James and Manning, 1996).

In applying NPM to LDCs two questions that seemed ignored by reformers include: whether and the extent to which NPM did in developed OECD countries what it was purported to do; and whether and the extent to which this objective could be achieved in LDCs. An assumption that seemed to have underpinned the NPM reform agenda in LDCs is that public sector problems remain fundamentally similar across countries; hence reform strategies that worked in OECD countries would work automatically in non-OECD countries. This assumption has been described as seriously flawed by authors such as Condrey et al (2001):

In Western governments, NPM reforms are occurring in the milieu of economic and political stability in conjunction with a rich history of democratic traditions and institutions. Such is not the case of developing countries. The administrative reforms may fail to target

the civil service-which is the main agent in carrying out such reform policies, and so may fail to target and tackle the appropriate developmental needs of the people.

Mainstream analyses of NPM reform failure in LDCs suggest there are many complex issues and systemic factors that tend to set a limit to NPM reform success. These include corruption (Condrey et al; 2001; Aworwti, 2002); frequent political interference and lack of clear distinction between the political, administrative and managerial functions of the public sector (Polidano, 1999; Larbi, 1998); and lack of capacity (Polidano, 1999). There is little, if at all, in these analyses that attempts to explain how local factors [cultural, social, political and economic practices] could affect reform outcomes, and gauging the effects of such local factors at the organisational level. Instead, most analysts draw attention to inefficiency on the part of reformers as though to suggest the governments in these countries have still not got it yet. In this thesis I suggest that explaining reform failures in terms of the incompatibility between the social, cultural, and political organisations of LDCs on the one hand, and prescribed [foreign] Western-type NPM reforms, on the other, would be a more robust and realistic approach to understanding and conceptualising NPM reform outcomes in LDCs.

Having now set out the broad conceptual and contextual landscape of NPM reforms, it is important at this juncture, to take a critical look at the particular contextual environment germane to this research (Ghana). I achieve this by examining the political-economic developments in Ghana which have shaped the public sector and political action, which creates the political sphere within which the public sector is located and where public sector management occurs.

1. 3. The Contextual Environment: Ghana's Political Economic Ideology, Public Sector

Landscape and NPM Reforms

In Ghana a complex set of systemic problems tends to compound NPM outcomes. As a background, I present, in this section, a brief summary of the development of Ghana's public sector from independence in 1957 to the era of the NPP government (2001-2008); the set of economic and social system that these gave rise to, and how all these in effect, shape public policy and interactions between the different categories of public sector managers. This is achieved by examining how political ideology did and continues to shape public policy but also people's attitudes, which shape public management practice in Ghana today. Specifically, this section links political ideology, public policy, and a succession of public sector reforms that followed within which NPM reforms are situated. Particular economic, social and cultural issues and challenges that emerged over the years are examined to the extent to which they gave rise to certain organisational restructuring and service delivery strategies such as corporatisation of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and outsourcing of public services which followed. The aim of this section is to elucidate the complex contextual issues relating to Ghana and help focus and fine-tune the research questions posed in this study.

Essentially, two political traditions have dominated Ghanaian's political landscape since independence (Carbone, 2003) (see **Table 1.1** a few pages below). The first, Nkrumahist tradition underpinned by a body of ideas associated with social democratic politics and neo-Keynesian economic ideology of full employment and state intervention, is premised on the ideology of Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president. The second, the Danquah-Busia tradition embodies a political economic ideology of neo-liberal market

economy, and private property ownership (Esseks, 1971; Williams, 1984; Carbone, 2003) and premised on the ideology of Dr JB Danquah and Dr KA Busia. At independence Ghana was more a capitalist and less socialist economy as Esseks (1971:59) illustrated it:

In 1957 when Ghana gained independence, over 90% of the country's import trade was in the hands of foreign firms; two British banks shared about 90% of all banking business; expatriate companies held 96% of total timber concessions; foreign investors owned all functioning gold mines...; general insurance was entirely in the hands of expatriate firms, and foreign companies earned the bulk of total receipts while the external market for cocoa had been a state monopoly since World War II.

After independence government's role was to be redefined as a state-employer, in order to strengthen the hitherto weak State evolved by more than a century of colonialism under which political and economic organisation were designed and pursued to serve foreign interests. Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) achieved this agenda by establishing a strong pro-socialist State that endorsed and privileged a state-controlled economy over Western capitalism. A well orchestrated agenda of nationalisation of private industries was consequently designed and pursued, which, continuing in earnest till CPP's overthrow in 1966, culminated in the proliferation of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). Consequently with the State now becoming the major employer in the areas of policy, infrastructural development and direct provision of goods and services (Grundy, 1963), the economy from industry to commerce and other services came thus to be dominated by SOEs. Unfortunately, many such SOEs failed to support the direct provision of goods and services due to administrative and technical inefficiencies, becoming, instead a drain on the

national economy. As Adei (2006: 16) observed, by the 1980s when Ghana was undertaking its divestiture programme, SOEs:

Provided 55% of formal sector employment (excluding the civil service) accounted for 25% of domestic investment; were responsible for 31% domestic credit; and were subsidised to the tune of 9% of Government expenditure.

In consequence, a general disillusionment with SOEs gradually evolved, engendering a heightened public agitation, which eventually triggered a coup d'état that deposed the CPP government in 1966 and ushered in a Danquah-Busia-led government. After CPP the development of SOEs was pursued with varying degrees of emphasis by successive governments (Appiah-Kubi, 2001), each with different ramifications. **Table 1.1** offers a summary of policy directions with associated policy outcomes by successive governments. The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government, which entered the political arena with an avowed concern for the masses, began with a state-controlled, nationalization agenda, which after an initial success, could not sustain their agenda in the face of trying moments characterised by sustained, persistent fiscal imbalances. As Appiah-Kubi (2001: 201) observed, by the mid 1980s:

The government of Ghana was engaged in all sectors of the economy at all levels. Apart from owning development corporations in all the ten regions, it wholly owned several enterprises in the manufacturing, mining and services sectors, and had gone into joint-ventures with many other firms and persons. It also owned several boards and commissions, which were providing services in competition with, or which could have been easily provided by the private sector.

Table 1.1 Politico-economic and public sector landscape of Ghana (1957-2008)

Government	Period	Political Tradition	Policies	Outcomes
Convention People's Party (CPP)	1957-1966	Nkrumahist	State-ownership, Nationalization Increased/expanded SOEs, full employment, large state expenditure	Inefficiency, large state expenditures, over-burdened government, shortage of basic necessities, economic hardships
National Liberation Council/United Party (NLC/UP)	1966-1972	Danquah-Busia	Private-ownership, divestiture Denationalization, outright sale Market economy, partnerships	Reduced state-expenditure, prosperity of privileged capitalists, widened socio-economic gap
National Redemption Council (NRC)	1972-1979	Nkrumahist	State-ownership, Nationalization Increased & expanded SOEs, increased government shareholding	Large government/increased state expenditure, fiscal imbalances, gross inefficiency, distressed government
People's National Party (PNP)	1979-1981	Nkrumahist	State-ownership, Nationalization Increased SOEs,	Large government/increased state expenditure, fiscal imbalances, gross inefficiency, distressed government
Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC)	1981-1992	Nkrumahist	State-ownership, Nationalization Increased & expanded SOEs, increased government shareholding	Large government/increased state expenditure, fiscal imbalances, gross inefficiency, distressed government
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	1992-2000	Hybrid	Mixed policies, Structural Adjustments, market reforms, Economic Recovery, NPM-related	Reduced state-expenditure, prosperity of privileged capitalists, widened socio-economic gap
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	2001-2008	Danquah-Busia	Private-ownership, divestiture, Denationalization, outright sale, Market economy, partnerships	Reduced state-expenditure, prosperity of privileged capitalists, widened socio-economic gap

Derived from Appiah-Kubi (2001); Adei (2006)

The inefficiency within the SOEs occurred in the form of poor financial performance due to lack of managerial and technical competence; over-stretched bureaucracies; and conflicting and poorly defined social, economic and commercial objectives. Others include poor incentives; abuse of monopoly power, corruption; political interference, and heavy indebtedness (Killick, 1983; Jefferis, 1994). With these, the need for a vigorous, comprehensive public sector reform became apparent, compelling the then government to enter the World Bank, whose prescriptions resulted in a sudden shift in public economic policy and practice, which I discuss next.

1.3. 1 *A sudden conceptual shift in policy*

The pursuit of reforms meant that the PNDC government had to make a sudden turn in policy direction from social democracy to World Bank/IMF neo-liberal market economic ideals and later something that stands in between the two (Carbone, 2003). In 1987 a nationwide SOE Reform programme (SOERP) was launched. This required contracting foreign consultants to restructure SOEs considered sensitive and strategic which also saw the strengthening of the monitoring and supervisory capacities of government over SOEs (Bafo-Arthur, 1999; Adei, 2006). The first set of reforms – the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) - were targeted at restoring international confidence in Ghana's economy and attracting investors to viable areas of the economy. The second, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), sought to alter the structure of the economy by redefining what constitutes the 'public', and shrinking public organisations, resulting in massive cuts in both the scope and scale of the public sector. This led to the redeployment of a substantial number of public employees between 1987 and 1992. The third involves privatisation couched in the discourse of divestiture with many SOEs sold outright, turned

into joint-ventures, leased, liquidated or converted to public companies (see Paragon, 1995; Adei, 2006).

In summary, such reforms included downsizing, retrenchment, divestiture, public financial administration reforms, rationalising government operations; outright privatisation or commercialising some government activity; decentralisation; capacity building, as well as public private partnerships (PPP) (IMF/World Bank, 1999; Aryetey and Fosu, 2002). Some positive (ISSER, 1995; Leechor, 1994) and some negative (Aryetey and Fosu, 2002; IMF/World Bank, 1999) results were recorded from reforms. What is at issue however is that in spite of initial problems encountered in previous reforms Government was still committed to divesting, privatising, diversifying and corporatising more public departments. An IMF /World Bank (1999) report indicates that the acceleration and expansion of the divestiture programme lies at the core of the government's efforts to establish a climate conducive to investment. Consequently, between 1996 and 2000, 48 State Owned enterprises were divested, privatised or contracted out to private contractors (Aryetey and Fosu, 2002; Oduro, 2003).

The NDC government lost the 2000 general elections to Kuffour's NPP, a defeat that was widely attributed to the failing economic policies, and principally the sale of substantial proportion of the nation's assets to foreigners, which many argue, undermines national sovereignty (Adei, 2006). Surprisingly [judging from voter perceptions about privatisation but consistent with their economic philosophy] the NPP government began with a well worked-out privatisation agenda (Government of Ghana, 2001) with strong emphasis on structural adjustments of the economy. However, the existence of the two dominant political traditions has evolved a culture of consistent opposition to most public sector

reforms depending on which tradition forms a government, and has arguably incubated an attitude of political party orientation in which the nationalistic orientation came to be subsumed.

1.3. 2 *NPP and Current Public Sector Reforms: the Policy framework*

According to Adei (2001), under the NPP government, Ghana has undergone a number of public sector reforms all attempting to redefine: (i) the role of government and the public sector; (ii) the scale and reach of the public sector; (iii) the means by which public services are delivered; and (iv) the strategies for ensuring improvement in delivering public services. As a matter of policy a separate government ministry (Ministry of Public Sector Reforms-MPSR) was created to oversee the implementation of reforms with objectives to ensure the State plays its key role as supervisor and ‘enabler’ rather than competitor in the provision of goods and services. This role was also reduced to steering while leaving the rowing function to the public organisations working with contracted private sector firms. The main reform components of the function of MPSR include: (i) intensifying good governance and civil service reforms; (ii) reforming and rationalisation of sub-vented agencies, (iii) restructuring central management agencies; and (iv) reforming public financial management, pay and pensions.

The size of the public sector was reduced considerably with some government departments converted to corporatised agencies, allowing effective collaboration between government and the private sector (Ministry of Public Sector Reforms, 2006). The policy allows an increasing number of private firms to be contracted to provide public services. For instance following the restructuring of Ghana’s health and water systems a number of institutional

arrangements culminated in the use of PPPs in delivering urban water and healthcare services. This access to private capital and expertise is believed to facilitate community-controlled delivery in rural areas (World Bank, News Release No. 2005/55/AFR). All this resulted in increased private participation in public service delivery. Moreover, Government has employed legislation to legitimate outsourcing as a complement to public service provision (Awortwi, 2002), and this is gradually becoming the means by which an increasing number of government departments provide their services (Caulfield, 2006).

Clearly there is systematic agenda to integrate the ideals of NPM in Ghana presently. What is quite unclear, however, is the range of reforms that can be classified precisely as NPM-type. For a clearer understanding of the issues identified in this thesis then it is important to ask, ‘what shapes and forms do NPM reforms take in Ghana; and conceptually, what areas of reforms occurring in Ghana can be pinned down to the NPM model; and what specific issues and challenges have emerged in pursuing such reforms?’ Although these questions are not my direct pre-occupation in conducting this research, answering them would surely provide a stronger basis for understanding the outcomes of this research. Thus in the section following, I provide a brief discussion of these questions.

1.4 Public sector reforms and NPM in Ghana’s context: contemporary issues

Within the current reform agenda in Ghana there are visible signs of NPM but there are associated challenges most peculiar to Ghana’s situation and context. A number of areas previously restricted to the public sector, and services previously provided by public bodies including local government, such as sanitation, for instance are increasingly being transferred to the private sector (Awortwi, 2002). The current policy framework thus

provides for reforms with considerable NPM underpinnings. Theoretically, it appears however that, of the seven doctrinal areas of NPM (Hood, 1991; 1995; Christensen and Lægreid, 1999; 2002) (see chapter two for detailed analysis) two of these [corporatisation and competition in public provision] have been more prevalent in Ghana than any other variant. Corporatisation is the fundamental philosophy that underpinned recent reforms targeting the rationalisation of sub-vented agencies in Ghana (see Ministry of Public Sector Reforms, 2006). In many public sector organisations including the education and health sectors, units have been reconstituted and restructured in ways that allow managers to manage them like private organisations. Competition, believed to be the solution to the public sector inefficiency challenge, is drawing a growing number of private sector bodies into the public equation through outsourcing arrangements.

Within this broad framework of public-private collaborations, concern over the nature of awarding contracts in most outsourcing arrangements emerged as one of the central issues. Specifically, lack of transparency in outsourcing tender preparation, award and execution of contracts has emerged as a topical issue (Awortwi, 2002). From Awortwi's study, employees of a Metropolitan Assembly in Ghana expressed concerns over the manner in which the Chief Executive by-passed professionals with expertise in contract administration, to get contracts designed and signed by unqualified bureaucrats, and external consultants, all linked to the personal interests of the Chief Executive. A number of similar cases exist in Ghana as in most developing countries and represent a flaw in implementing public policies. As Polidano (1999) observed one endemic problem in most developing countries is the existence of the informal sector side-by-side the formal sector, and it is this fuels corruption. Additionally, the experience with the implementation of result-oriented public expenditure in Ghana suggests increased difficulty in attaining results

due largely to procedural inertia and a persistent culture of non-performance and non-accountability in the public sector (Oduro, 2003). Thus an interesting factor militating against reform success is the *invisible hand of the informal system* that tends to put most government efforts in near disarray.

1. 4. 1 NPM, Outsourcing and the Legal framework in Ghana

Outsourcing has been identified as a possible area for corrupt practices. Previous governments have embarked on several anti-corruption initiatives to fight corruption especially within the public sector. The NPP government's announcement of 'zero tolerance for corruption' in 2001 was hailed as a good starting point, following which were several instances of prosecutions and jail terms for former and current government and public officials who either embezzled state funds or through whose fault the state suffered financial substantial losses. While such prosecutions at one level display government's commitment to fighting corruption, they have at another level been interpreted by others as 'political witch-hunting' as all culprits are from political parties other than the party of incumbency. It is difficult to rule out the potential of this type of witch-hunting especially as the 2008 elections approached. It is plausible to speculate the organisational effects of interpersonal relationships subsumed in party politicking especially in a country believed to be characterised by political patronage (Egbue, 2006). Such party politicking could have the potential to play out in relationships at the workplace and affect public office holders' relationships with their peers and subordinates. There is potential danger that the extent to which public employees would cooperate or resist the implementation of public policies could become easily circumscribed in such party politics. These are admittedly, speculative issues but I am persuaded they are significant enough to warrant critical academic analysis.

Additionally, Ghana saw the promulgation the National Procurement Act (2003). The potential contradiction this has introduced in the era of NPM where managers require increased authority and devolution is the restriction of the extent of managers' autonomy and discretion in making decisions about public procurement. One obvious effect has been a return to greater centralisation of control in order to fight corruption (Public Agenda, Accra, 18th, June, 2007). As I have noted earlier, this increased centralisation is however antithetical to the country's current comprehensive decentralisation agenda which premises efficiency in delivering public services on devolved power to disaggregated units and their managers in line with broad NPM prescriptions.

Thus while Ghana has an efficient legal framework that regulates the conduct of public managers and the delivery of public services, its use appeared to have suffered serious abuses. In effect, rather than leading to national unity, its use has and could continue to engender national disunity. This lack of unity at the national level could be cascaded down the organizational and institutional levels, and could seriously jeopardize relationships within public sector organizations. As a consequence, one could speculate that relationships and interactions between senior and middle managers in this study could be informed and influenced by party politics and the political affiliation of those involved.

1. 5 Economic, political and socio-cultural factors from Ghana's context

The political, administrative and managerial context of Ghana within which public sector reforms take place could be shaped by a multiplicity of economic, social and cultural factors, which I briefly discuss below. This section is important in that it helps to situate

the study, specifically the issues and challenges that shape the interactions between senior managers and professionals in a peculiar context. These contextual factors are only now beginning to receive systematic academic analysis (see for example Egbue, 2006; Danso, 2007). This neglect is rather unfortunate as such analysis could offer explanations for the nature and mode of interactions between managers and professionals as they occur in this study.

Power distance: I draw on Hofstede's (1981) work on national cultures to explain power distance from Ghanaian context. According to Hofstede's Power Distance Index (PDI), Ghana is by many standards, a high power-distance society, rated as high (77) on the PDI. The (PDI) measures the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions accept and expect that power is distributed asymmetrically. Power distance essentially represents inequality (social, economic, etc) but defined from below, not necessarily from above. It suggests that a society's level of inequality is endorsed by the followers as much as by the leaders. Assimeng (1996) and Danso (2007) revealed that age and status are still to some extent regarded as a source of wisdom in Ghanaian society. In Ghanaian society judgment seems to be based more on titles and positions, and presumed status is based on appearances of class and less on personal competence and performance (Assimeng, 1996).

Age-and-status-based respect: Directly emanating from the notion of power distance dynamics is the need for respect for the more powerful from the less powerful. This calls for exercising circumspection, diplomacy and restraint in questioning the authority of more powerful societal members. Traditionally, in Ghana, age and status (political, economic, and religious) still remain to a great extent the fundamental determinants of respect. Thus

age-wise, traditional society was divided into elders, the mature, the youth and children and respect is ascribed in that order with elders attracting the highest level of respect (Danso, 2007). In Ghana, as in most African societies, respect for elders and the elderly tends to be the key for harmony (Harris and Moran, 2000). With respect to status politicians, spiritual leaders and the rich still command considerable respect in Ghana. It then also becomes difficult to question their authority and actions.

Chieftaincy and traditional authority: One other institution that has given impetus to the power distance concept in Ghana has been chieftaincy and traditional organisation and authority. Traditionally, beyond the family, the basic unit of authority in Ghana is the chief. Wherever people reside, be it a farming cottage, a small fishing community or even a cosmopolitan city the basic source of authority is the area chief. The chieftaincy institution is a monarchical one, with chiefs drawing their authority ostensibly from a supposed spiritual source. Whereas theoretically, chiefs could be dethroned [de-stooled] for gross misconduct, practically this seldom happens. When the chief goes wrong, it is normally the elders, [who enthrone him, not the subjects], who are authorised to criticise him. Open criticism of the king by ordinary subjects is generally unacceptable and frowned at, and criticism is thus subsumed in, and subordinated to and shaped by respect for the king. Gossip and backbiting thus tend to become the way subjects complain and criticise whenever the powerful go wrong. This assertion is based on the researcher's own experience as someone who was born, bred and worked in Ghana. It is possible that such king-subject relationships could be cascaded down to boss-subordinate relationships at the workplace where criticism of the former by the latter is least welcomed. Within this context, criticisms must take on new shapes and forms. Managerial-professional relationships studied in this

research could possibly be influenced by similar authority frameworks embedded in such a cultural context.

The concept and practice of democracy. Arguably, the successful implementation of NPM reforms is to a large extent premised on the effective working of democracy in both polity and business enterprise (Condrey et al, 2001). This ensures democratic, collective and participatory decision-making. Additionally, effective democratisation is believed to be fundamental to curbing corruption (Agyeman-Duah, 2004), which is pivotal to effective implementation of NPM. This is due mainly to its (NPM) high-trust/low-cost relationships (Hood, 1995). In Western societies where NPM originated, democracy has for centuries, been a pervasive feature of both the body polity and business. In Ghana, as in most developing countries however, democracy, which is an implicit prerequisite for a fair and effective public service, is still struggling to gain ground in politics and business. This is against the backdrop that with few exceptions, democracy does little to go beyond the ballot box in most African and developing countries, and its use is employed more to legitimate and entrench rulers in power than to encourage the participation of civic society in the governing process. Clearly, Western democracy, of which constructive criticism is a vital component on the one hand, and the chieftaincy institution, where it is generally unacceptable for subjects to openly criticise the king, run counter to each other in several different ways. Moreover, the ascription of a spiritual dimension to the chief's [leader's] authority makes their authority not easily questionable by everybody. Superior-subordinate relationships at the workplace could become easily subsumed in such chief-subject relationships, where both people in authority and the ruled agree that the former have authentic right to rule and the latter an obligation to submit to, not question, the authority of the former.

Party Politics and political differences: In Ghana party politics seems to pervade almost every aspect of people's national lives. Often, party politics and political affiliation triumph over reason and objectivity when crucial decisions are to be made especially those relating to subjects with considerable political underpinning. It is also a common feature in most developing African countries that often one's political affiliation, rather than qualification and personal competence significantly determines what [public] positions they could occupy (Egbue, 2006). It is not uncommon therefore to find in these countries that people lose their jobs or other 'enviable positions' because they criticise a decision that has an inherent political underpinning. Criticising one's boss especially when the boss has a different political affiliation to the subordinate could be interpreted from a political standpoint. To relate peacefully to one's superiors in this type of environment, 'being careful' and 'circumspect' about what one says and how they say it would become the watchword if subordinates wish to express their opinions on issues and still maintain their job or position.

Corruption: Corruption has been identified as one of the major problems confronting most developing economies (Transparency International Corruption Report, 2006). In Ghana while heightened levels of corruption have necessitated several government anti-corruption initiatives (Larbi, 1998), there still remains much concern about corruption. The magnitude of the challenge of corruption within the Ghanaian context is highlighted by the low levels of trust that is beginning to evolve among the citizenry. Surely, such a low level of trust could be responsible for management systems and strategies that resort to increased centralization. Increased centralisation tends to result in procedural inertia, which ultimately undermines the very objectives underpinning NPM reform initiatives. I must emphasize however that the challenge of corruption to outsourcing is a global problem, and as I make

clear in chapter two, even in the UK, for instance where public services ethics is fully developed, outsourcing was blamed for contributing to a number of corrupt practices (Greenaway, 1995).

Trust/mistrust. Within the context of LDCs, outsourcing could be described as a subject of considerable irony in the sense that it is believed to be both the cause and/or solution to corruption. From a political viewpoint outsourcing was seen as a means of building public trust because it was believed to encourage transparency by involving private organisations in delivering public services. Within the context of Ghana, trust is a rather slippery subject. On the one hand, Ghana is fundamentally a high trust country as observed by Danso (2007: 47):

In Ghana relationships normally begin on the basis of a priori trust. This often creates confusion between personal and business trust. Written contracts are used only in formal situations and are unusual. People gain their trust based on personal references, common language and references as opposed to a database type credit system. It is called the 'who you know' system.

Ghana thus has a past credited with high trust, as people were sure to keep their word. By and large, the indigenous Ghanaian interprets the use of detailed contracts and paper agreements in a relationship as constituting lack of trust. For instance, it is not uncommon to hear people ask, 'don't you trust me', or 'don't you know me?' when asked to commit themselves to a documented agreement. On the other hand, current developments regarding corruption are fast reducing this high level of trust. Whereas such a high trust system has advantages, including being pivotal to effective implementation of NPM

reforms, its shortcoming lay in the fact that it has often been abused and betrayed. Thus the high-trust system has a built-in mistrust interface, which makes it dangerous. Increasingly, growing scepticism about trust is negatively impacting personal and business relationships, and could partly explain the domination of Ghana's business landscape by sole proprietors as opposed to partnerships and cooperatives. I call this *the African paradox*, as Ghana's inherent collective orientation, which underpins its extended family system does not seem to be carried into the world of business. This is subject of further research and academic analysis.

High unemployment rate: In spite of recent gains, which have placed her economy above most African countries, Ghana still grapples with unemployment rates considered unacceptably high by international standards. Economic theory holds that where labour supply outweighs the demand for it, there is said to be unemployment, and where this pattern becomes pervasive within the economy the rate of unemployment is said to be high. This condition can be described as *employer sovereignty*, as employers (and their surrogates) are highly likely to control and determine both the quantity of labour they employ and the personnel practices they adopt to managing the employment relationship. Under such conditions, employees would be less likely to critically engage with or overtly and directly criticise employers. They might either find their job as privileged position, which they might not be prepared to risk losing through criticising employers or managers. Whereas the notion that employees would find it difficult to openly criticise their employers is a universal phenomenon, it is fair to argue that its prevalence is more obvious in societies where democracy has not fully gained ground, and where labour laws are either non-existing or not vigorously enforced to forestall victimisation from employers. These foregoing issues have potential to influence and shape social interaction and workplace

dynamics in Ghana. They could thus help in explaining the nature of interaction between managers and professionals in this study. While these issues have been researched and documented in such areas as sociology and anthropology, they seem to have escaped much critical management scholarship even among African academics. This study attempts to draw attention to the need to fill this gap, at least partly.

1. 6 Inadequate NPM research on NPM in LDCs and the implications for research and public management practice

In spite of the recent surge in developing countries' experimentation with NM reform relative to developed countries, there is little research on developing countries examining the relationships between managers and professionals and the potential of the local context to affect reform outcomes. Even where such research exists, they tend to focus little on how the professional function encounters and experiences the managerial function, and how local factors could condition this interaction. Although Oluwu (2002) has earlier observed that within the context of developing countries NPM is basically managerialism and privatisation, there is hardly any rigorous investigation into how the professional component of the managerial function in the public sector encounters managerialism and the associated value and belief system. In contemporary public organisations, although it can no longer be said the provision of services is exclusively in the hands of professionals, they [professionals] still occupy an important place in the current reform agenda. Such professionals are located in public organisations often in the capacity of middle managers. This means the managerial function has been problematised and complicated because we have managers who are also professionals. With the complicatedness of the managerial function it is appropriate to redefine, fine-tune, and redirect research agenda to focus on

how NPM reforms relate to and what consequences they deliver for the managerial function specifically at the middle level, where functionaries are fundamentally professionals. It is at the accomplishment of this, and the related issues discussed above that this piece of research is directed.

All these politico-economic developments combined with the socio-cultural, political and economic features of Ghana as identified above could produce peculiar workplace dynamics that could have a number of implications for public management practice because they define and affect people's attitude to public institutions and public employment. To begin with, they could impact negatively on citizens' level of patriotism to the state. Popular debate holds that for many Ghanaians the several years of foreign (colonialists) control of local politics and economy in serving foreign interests had created a general dislike for government. Working for government thus came to be seen as working for a foreign, oppressive institution not deserving the commitment of the citizenry. Unfortunately this attitude changed little upon attainment of political independence. This lack of patriotism demonstrated through lax attitudes towards public sector work, gradually evolved a culture that does not cherish commitment to working for government, and could as well be a serious cause of corruption. Since, from independence, most formal employment occurred in the government sector, the formal sector gradually came to be equated with government and the concept of 'foreignness' was imputed to government and government jobs. This possibly explains people's negative attitude towards government work (similar views are expressed by Haruna, 2004; Dibie, 2004 and Mhone, 2003). Moreover, according to popular view the evolution of the two dominant political traditions giving rise to two economic ideologies in Ghana has left the country economically polarised and politically divided with a major effect of eroding citizens' patriotism and

nationalistic consciousness. It is possible that these complex intertwined issues, coupled with a strong politicking culture could find their way to the workplace, tending to affect superior-subordinate relationships.

In summary, the political, economic, social and cultural ideologies, beliefs and values Ghana upheld since independence have indeed shaped and given direction to her practice of public management. Propelled principally by two ideological political-economic traditions, Ghana has evolved a public management paradigm that reflects the complex and conflicting realities of these ideologies. Most importantly, a number of significant policy shifts have metamorphosed a country that began as a pro-socialist, state-controlled economy to the current neo-liberal market economy. However, the success of the implementation of her current market policies are being influenced by the attitudes of the citizenry, informed by the collective outcome of her historic, economic and socio-cultural antecedents identified above. As in most developing countries, rather than resolve the negative outcomes of these ideological conflicts, current public sector reform strategies in Ghana seem to complicate and amplify them.

The understanding and conceptualisation of what these complexities and conflicts mean, in terms of the lived experiences of senior managers and professional middle managers (PMMs), and how these in turn impact on their interaction and reaction to each other is at the very heart of this thesis. The importance of this section is appreciated against the backdrop that it presents a critical reference point for examining the questions posed in this research. By tracing the historical, political, ideological and economical antecedents of Ghana's public sector and its attitudes to general reforms the chapter presents a focal point for examining current issues arising in public management practice. The need for research

into these complex issues in dealing with the public sector challenge in Ghana as in other developing countries cannot be overemphasised. It is these interrelated, intertwined issues, and how they interact with the NPM model that both constitute and define the framework for this research.

1. 7 The Research

Against the background provided above, this research project aims to answer the following questions:

1. What issues and challenges (conflicts, contradictions, dilemmas and paradoxes) do professional middle managers (PMMs) encounter, working under senior managers in corporatised organisations in Ghana, outsourcing some of their functions?
2. How can we conceptualise, in that context, professional middle managers' mode of response to the issues they encounter?
3. What lessons can we learn from questions 1 and 2 above to move forward our understanding of the implication of the interaction between managerial authority and professional autonomy for NPM reform outcomes in a developing non-Western country context?

In investigating these issues two cases of corporatised public healthcare institutions in Ghana that have outsourced some health support functions to private firms were selected. While other categories of managers are investigated, the central focus of this research is professionals (middle managers) in these hospitals who work directly under senior managers, serving as supervisors over the activities of private outsourcing service providing

firms as well as over those of other lower levels of management. Two cases (Installation/Maintenance and Cleaning) were selected from each research site, reflecting different levels of skills of functional areas (high-value/complex skills and low-value/simple skills). The objective is to explore whether and the extent to which differences in skill levels in functions outsourced impact on senior managers' style of contract administration and the mode of interaction between senior managers and professional middle managers in whose departments the outsourcing initiative occurs (see chapter four for full discussion of the impact of skill level).

My assumption is that senior management's style of contract administration is likely to vary with level of skills of the functional area outsourced. In doing so they would be more inclined to exercise greater control over functional areas requiring complex, high-values skills than those requiring low-value skills. If this assumption holds I expect managerial-professional relationships to reflect these differences such that senior managers' relationship with professionals in charge of high-value skills functional areas (Installation/Maintenance) is likely to be more antagonistic, tensional and conflictual than with those in charge of simple, low-value skill functional areas (Cleaning).

The theoretical framework of this assumption is Crozier's (1964) theory of expert power. According to Crozier, an area of considerable complexity is also an area where only those possessing relevant expertise and knowledge (expert power-professionals) are able to exercise control. This creates for the experts, a space, a territory and domain where they exercise a form of monopolistic power. Thus domain of complexity essentially constitutes a territory of power and control (Foucauld, 1977). From management and industrial sociology literatures, control is at the centre of much management activity. In the view of a

labour process theorist such as Braverman (1974) with his alienation and deskilling theses, modern production technology, which tends to simplify the work process, is a deliberate attempt by management to control workers by rendering them and their skills less and less indispensable in the production process. Although this research is not grounded in labour process theory (LPT), there are parallels that can be drawn from LPT to help predict possible areas as targets of management control, and to explain why this could be so in other different contexts. Against this backdrop, I expect professional managers responsible for the Installation/Maintenance cases to encounter more complex, tensional and conflictual issues, and to demonstrate more complexity and less straightforward strategies in responding to these issues than professionals in charge of the Cleaning cases.

With respect to methods, a primarily qualitative approach similar to grounded theory was employed although apart from grounding the analysis in the data and allowing themes to emerge freely from it, grounded theory approach was not followed in a strictly technical sense. Semi-structured interview guides, together with some form of observation were used in generating and gathering data. Data organisation and analysis was carried out relying on a combination of qualitative data analysis frameworks but principally Miles and Huberman's (1994) framework for analysing qualitative data.

1.8 Order of chapters

The rest of this thesis is organised as follows. In chapter two, a detailed literature review on NPM as a basket of political, managerial, organisational and service delivery reforms packages that attempted to replace traditional public administration is presented. One of NPM's powerful thrusts is its challenge of bureaucracy as a system of organisation for

delivering public services. In order to ensure a clear conceptual and practical distinction between the two public management paradigms and draw attention to the functional areas of the new public management paradigm, NPM is contrasted with bureaucracy while public management is contrasted with private management. The major conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of NPM (public choice from new institutional economics and managerialism from strategic management-which some commentators have described as rivals or opposites, and which underlines much of the criticisms of NPM) are presented and examined, following which a working definition of NPM is suggested. A section devoted to the managerial, organisational and service delivery reforms, which discusses the corporatisation of public organisations and outsourcing as both a theory and a system of public service delivery is followed by a summary review of practical cases of developed and developing nations' experiment with NPM reforms. Here, some pertinent issues and challenges that emerge from the implementation of NPM reforms not least in developing countries are brought to a sharp relief. The chapter ends with a section on why NPM reforms in developing countries generally tend to fail.

Chapter three reviews literature on managerial-professional relationships. While the success of NPM has, as one of its prerequisites, increased power to public managers to commensurate with their new roles, so too is the need for increased autonomy and discretion for professionals directly engaged in both making decisions about, and in the direct provision of services. Research on managers and professionals is replete with evidence that suggests the exercise of professional autonomy and discretion on the one hand, and the use of managerial authority on the other in the same organisation presents a number of challenges and conflicts to managerial-professional relationships, which eventually impact negatively on the organisations' capacity to deliver quality services. In this

chapter, the concepts of managers, managerialism and managerial authority on the one hand, and the changing concepts professions, professionalism and professional autonomy as well as the changing role of professionals on the other, are examined in the context of NPM and the current public sector reorganisation.

A summary of the interrelated issues that constitute the framework for this research as well as the design, methodology, and methods for collecting, organising, and analysing data for this research form the content of the fourth chapter. The analysis of research data is presented in chapter five where an attempt is made to understand the fundamental differences between the outsourcing of high-value/complex skills and low-value/simple skills functions in terms of rationales, contract management and general relationships and interactions between senior managers and professional middle managers. The chapter also attempts to examine whether and to what extent differences in skill levels of functional areas outsourced could shape managerial-professional relationships as well as the issues managers experienced in the two health institutions studied. Chapter six presents the discussions of the findings and the contribution of this research to the NPM framework. It does this in two fundamental ways: draws implications for understanding and conceptualising managerial-professional relationships in corporatised organisations under NPM, and drawing implications for understanding the complexities and failure of NPM reforms in LDCs. Chapter seven (final chapter) presents a summary of the findings, drawing general conclusions and implications for the future of NPM reforms in Africa and other LDCs. The chapter finally suggests the direction for further research on public sector reforms in LDCs, especially Africa.

1.9 Conclusion

NPM is a loose label employed to encapsulate the range of private sector and market-based practices introduced and applied to the management of public sectors in a number of developed OECD countries over the past three decades. The transposition of these practices to the public sector became necessary as public sector reformers were concerned to find panaceas for addressing the range of challenges-principally fiscal imbalances and economic inefficiencies-confronting most public sectors. This search for better, more effective solutions led to questions about the efficacy of the State bureaucracy in delivering public services in the most efficient, effective, economic and fair way. One major conclusion drawn by reformers is that the state and the public sector were becoming excessively over-bureaucratized, suggesting that the reforming of the State bureaucracy was necessary to restore efficiency and effectiveness in delivering public services. It was also concluded that using private sector, market-based business practices, including effective management as benchmark could offer a solution to the public sector challenge. Hence the reforming mission of NPM in those OECD countries targeted de-bureaucratising, managerialising, privatising and marketising the state and the provision of public services.

Arguably, the State bureaucracy was to some degree dominated by professionals of various categories, hence debureaucratising and managerialising the State led to the increase in the power and control of managers (senior) over the provision of public service. With professionals, this led to considerable marginalisation of their professional power and control over the delivery of public services. Thus intentionally or unintentionally, some form of brake on the power and control of professionals becomes necessary if the NPM mission of increased managerialisation is to succeed. Not only that, but professionals are in

some instances required to take on some managerial roles additional to their professional roles. This research is concerned to understand: (i) the nature of the likely tensions, conflicts and frictions arising from both the process of increasing managerialisation and the concomitant truncation of the professionals' power; and (ii) the capacity of professionals to manage and reconcile their professional roles within management-defined limits, with the added managerial responsibilities at the organisational level. The study seeks to understand and conceptualise ways these are contained and managed, especially strategies professional managers employ in surviving in such environment.

Moreover, guided by Crozier's (1964) framework as presented above, I am concerned to understand whether the skill level in task areas performed by professionals has any effect on the presence or level of conflicts between professionals and managers. My selection of two different types of cases reflecting varying levels of skills is thus aimed to investigate possible differences in managerial-professional conflicts, which may be explained by reference to variations in skill levels. This, together with local factors discussed above, provides the context for this research.

In a developing country context such as Ghana, these conflicts, tensions and frictions are likely to become more complicated, compounded by the range of social, cultural and economic factors of the local environment. The historical trajectory of the political economic landscape set out in this chapter thus aims partly to present a reference point for understanding the issues encountered in the relationships and interactions that unfolded in this research. This study in effect, aims to add to our understanding of how these local factors act in various ways to shape such tensions and conflicts in the interaction between managers and professionals at the organisational level in the broader context of NPM.

CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW

NPM: a system of managerial, organisational and service delivery reforms

2.0. Introduction

This chapter reviews the interrelated issues, which constitute the critical literature on NPM. It examines the doctrinal areas and theoretical building blocks that constitute the NPM framework. This is achieved as follows. A brief review of the theories of public choice and managerialism is followed by a discussion of NPM broadly, pinning it down to its typical organisational framework [corporatisation], and service delivery strategy [outsourcing]. A discussion of the conceptual underpinnings and theoretical basis of outsourcing follows, and proceeds with an examination of the empirical evidence on NPM reforms in both developed and developing countries' experience of NPM reforms. The chapter ends with an elaboration of peculiar contextual features that tend to make NPM reforms in LDCs particularly challenging, tending to be generally unsuccessful.

2.1 The building blocks of NPM (main doctrinal areas)

In chapter one, it was made clear that NPM reforms are varied, substantially diverse and are best described as bundles of strategies from which reformers conveniently pick. In spite of this substantial diversity, analysts generally agree that NPM reforms are grounded in seven doctrinal areas (Hood, 1991) (**Table 2.1** below).

Table 2.1 *Summary of doctrinal areas of NPM*

Doctrine	Meaning	Typical justification
Hands-on professional management in the public sector	Active, visible, discretionary control of organisations from named persons at the top, ‘free to manage’	Accountability requires clear assignment of responsibility for action, not diffusion of power
Explicit standards and measures of performance	Diffusion of goals, targets, indicators of success, preferably expressed in quantitative terms, especially for professional services	Accountability requires clear statement of goals; efficiency requires hard look at objectives
Greater emphasis on output controls	Resource allocation and rewards linked to measured performance; break-up of centralised bureaucracy-wide personnel management	Need to stress results rather than procedures
Shift to disaggregation of units in the public sector	Break up of formerly monolithic units, unbundling of U-form management systems into corporatised units around products, operating on decentralised one-line budgets and dealing with one another on an arms length basis	Need to create manageable units, separate provision and production interests, gain efficiency advantages of use of contacts or franchise arrangements inside as well as outside the public sector
Shift to greater competition in public sector	Move to term contracts and public tendering procedures	Rivalry as the key to lower costs and better standards
stress on private sector styles of management practice	Move away from military-style public service ethic, greater flexibility in hiring and rewards; greater use of PR techniques	Need to use proven private sector management tools in the public sector
Stress on greater discipline/parsimony in resource use	Cutting direct costs, raising labour discipline, resisting unions demands, limiting compliance costs to business	Need to check resource demands of public sector and do more with less

Source: Hood (1991: 4-5)

I explain, in turn each of the seven popularly cited doctrinal areas of NPM below.

Hands on professional management: Under-girded by the catchphrase 'let managers manage' as opposed to 'make managers manage', this element recognises the need for management at the very top of the organisation, endowed with full substantive responsibility for management-working towards the achievement of clearly specified goals-rather than administrators merely administering rules, and working towards exogenously determined ends (Olowu, 2002). In return for their devolved authority, managers have their positions contractualised, becoming more accountable and answerable to politicians for specified results. This is based on the axiom that for people to be held accountable, they must first be given clear responsibility for their action in an environment where power is not diffused (Hood, 1991). According to Olowu (2002) the management role here is pre-eminent over the specialised nature of the department and ministry, thus putting an end to the specialist-generalist controversy in favour of professional management (this should be understood as senior management, and differentiated from professional middle management). This also has substantial implication for the management of human resources, which have in recent times been characterised by contracts of various kinds and to varying degrees.

Explicit standards and measure of performance: Central to this element is a clear, unambiguous statement of objectives, goals and performance standards and criteria, often expressed in quantifiable terms from which the allocation of resources for which managers are accountable derives its legitimacy and justification. This focus on results and outcomes (accountability for outputs) is a clear departure from the focus on inputs (accountability for inputs) inherent in the traditional public administration. Once given the resources, managers have at their disposal a great deal of discretion in allocating them, mindful of

their accountability for their decisions and the implications of such decisions for whole units, departments and even whole ministries (Olowu, 2002).

Emphasis on output controls and entrepreneurial management: There is great orientation towards such control mechanisms as performance and programme budgeting in contrast to line item budgeting. While strategic management is still pursued, this focuses is on objectives that must be achieved in the shortest possible time in a rapidly changing environment, hence the increase in the application of SWOT analysis (Olowu, 2002). Here, the emphasis on results means that top management's focus is on meeting, preferably exceeding targets.

Disaggregation of units: Also known as corporatisation, this involves the breaking up of previously large monolithic organisations into small units designed and build around single products, with separate cost centre. This process both necessitates and facilitates the use of decentralised budgets, and allows personnel processes to be decentralised, making possible hiring and firing at the local level and also enhancing this process. In a sense, corporatisation attempts to address the agency problem, by giving stake to individuals, groups and communities in the organisation.

Competition in public service delivery: There is increased belief in competition-an application of market principles-as a means of ensuring efficiency in the delivery of public services. Coming in various forms, this sort of competition includes privatisation, commercialisation and marketisation (Olowu, 2002). This is made possible by the separation of provision (legal authority conferred on a named public organisation to provide a defined service) from production (the technical transformation of inputs into outputs). This separation means that a public organisation with legal responsibility for providing a given service can

delegate (contract out) the production of that service to another organisation in either the public or private sector. The ramifications of this separation include public-private partnerships (PPPs); private finance initiatives (PFIs); franchising; and outsourcing in its various forms.

Emphasis on private sector styles of management: There is a conceptual shift away from what Olowu (2002) referred to as military-style public service ethics towards flexibility with respect to hiring, managing and compensating personnel. For instance, top positions in the public sector are no longer the preserve of longest serving public servants; the appointment process is subject to the rigour of open competition between internal and external applicants from both the public and private sectors. Remuneration is no longer based solely on length of service and seniority but partly on performance and merit.

Greater stress on discipline and parsimony in resource use: Olowu (2002) summarised this as 'raising labour discipline, resisting union demands, limiting compliance costs to businesses, and application of information and communication technology (ICT). The use of ICT ensures the making of more informed decisions to avoid waste, all underpinned by accounting logic (Aucoin, 1990; Hood, 1995). All this, it is believed would result in achieving more with less.

I now turn to two major issues arising from NPM reforms. The first encapsulates debates revolving around the efficacy of NPM reforms as well as their compatibility with public service ethos. The second relates to how the conflicts between the efficacy and public service ethos interfaces are producing different trajectories of relationships between different levels and categories of public managers-and the effects of these on public service delivery. I examine below, in specific how NPM reforms are reshaping relationships

between senior public managers and [professional] middle managers-important stakeholders in any public sector reform implementation agenda. Increased collaboration between public and private organisations and the juxtaposition of private management principles on public sector organisations are at the core of the NPM model. One such private sector practice is the adoption of flatter organisational structures, meaning public organisations can reduce their staff size while relying on a cadre of private organisations, through outsourcing arrangements, to provide a myriad of public services. This reasoning sounds plausible, especially to politicians desperately struggling with ever deteriorating fiscal imbalances, arising often from large number of public employees. NPM thus has a special appeal [as a panacea for public management] for ambitious politicians as it promises rational and pragmatic solution to most systemic ills confronting public sector organisations (Christensen and Laegreid, 2002).

Against this background, NPM can be described as fundamentally an economic concept, designed in response to recurring government and public sector challenges (Hood, 1991; Greenwood, Pyper and Wilson, 2002). However, the concept was popularized using ideological and political tools (Whitfield, 2001; Greenwood, Pyper and Wilson, 2002). In effect then the NPM initiative is a set of doctrines proposing solutions to the many public sector problems. Implementing NPM reforms thus calls for restructuring the management, organisation and provision of public services.

NPM has been described as the last of several administrative paradigm shifts, the former necessitated by questions about the efficacy of traditional public administration to deliver public services (Aucoin, 1990). The late 1970s is believed to be the climax of the challenges of public administration, and an era that saw the deterioration in both the level and quality

of public service provision across the globe (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999; Rainey and Chun, 2005). Informing the debates in this period also was the re-emergence of two influential concepts, namely public choice and managerialism. The re-emergence of these two concepts, which I discuss in turn below, paved the way for the propagation of NPM doctrines (Aucoin, 1990; Hood, 1991).

2.2 Public Choice Theory

From a historical perspective, public choice theory was first adumbrated in 1963, when James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock invited selected economists and social scientists to explore non-market decision-making. This culminated in a conference and subsequent animation of the *Public Administration Review* [Journal], the first article authored by Ostrom (1964). The theory gained currency during the 1970s when most public sectors experienced tremendous distressing fiscal challenges. Public choice theory is directed towards the study of politics based on economic principles; it is quintessentially an ideologically-laden, democratic political view derived from the principles of microeconomics. Public choice theorists were concerned about the potential of politicians, like other economically rational ordinary citizens, to be motivated by self interest in their decisions on behalf of and in their dealings with the public (Starr, 1988; Aucoin, 1991). The theorists discovered that whereas economic rationality in the form of self-interest leads to benign results in the market-place, in political decisions it tends to produce pathological patterns, displayed through a myriad of free-riding and rent-seeking behaviour by bureaucrats, politicians, and recipients of public funds. For instance there is probability that managers of bureaucratic firms may seek to maximize budgets, with the view to obtaining greater power, larger salaries, and other benefits. This budget maximization tendency produces higher overall government

spending, inefficient resource allocation among government agencies, and subsequently inefficient production of goods and delivery of services (Starr, 1988).

Public choice theory is concerned thus to address the possible conflict of interest that can ensue when public officials are faced with making decisions in the public interest; it asks the questions whether public officials can always be trusted to make decisions to protect the public interest; 'if public officials' altruism cannot be automatically guaranteed, what precautions can be taken to ensure such decision makers are held more accountable to those on whose behalf they make decisions?' In short public choice theory attempts to examine the economic analysis of human behaviour as either rational utility-maximizing individuals or profit-maximising business firms and transfers this analysis to political science. It then provides a framework for preventing or minimizing individual interest from leading to inefficient resource allocation decisions that may culminate in government failure. As a result, one effect of public choice theory germane to NPM analysis has been the growth in advocacy for elected officials to be held directly accountable to the electorate [as opposed to appointed bureaucrats] (see Aucoin, 1990 for fuller analysis). The theory thus seeks to strengthen the position of politicians in both making public policies and ensuring their proper implementation. While reducing the influence of public bureaucrats relative to elected politicians, the theory advocates, as a balancing effect, increased political accountability to the electorate.

2.3 Managerialism

The main tenets of managerialism are clearly articulated in Peters and Waterman's (1982) influential 'in search of excellence', but these have been significantly re-echoed elsewhere

(Pollitt, 1990; Aucoin, 1990; Hood, 1991). The concept argues that proper managerial accountability and effective goal attainment require greater managerial mandate, discretion and power over organisational resources. It argues for de-bureaucratising organisational systems and, for viewing productivity as a function of effective management of organisations' mission, personnel, and customers/clients. The central argument of managerialism is that private sector practices would solve the public sector's inadequate performance problem; managerialism fosters the proposition that "good government and good organization result from deliberate intentions, detailed plans and consistent decisions" (Prasser, 1990, p. 194). From that ideological perspective, flows a whole series of seldom-tested propositions that culminate in the commercializing, corporatising and privatizing public services-rationales often accepted as axiomatically true (Dixon, Kouzmin, and Korac-Kakabadse, 1998).

In the context of the public sector, managerialism maintains that compared to private organisations, public sector organisations are weak, inferior, less efficient and less effective, and that when rid of bureaucratic red tape, the public sector can be as effective as private organisations (Aucoin, 1990; Rainey and Chun, 2005). Several weaknesses in public organisations have been identified (Rainey and Chun, 2005) including, vague, multiple, conflicting goals; conflicting political and managerial objectives; and administrative authority restricted in decision making power by lack of autonomy (Lynn, 1981; Warwick, 1975; Rainey and Chun, 2005). Others include highly bureaucratized organisational structures leading to procedural delays (Light, 2002), and structural constraints such as those related to personnel management and procurement; and incentive structures not directly linked to performance (see Atwater and Wright, 1996; Kurland and Egan, 1999; Rainey and Bozeman, 2000 for full analysis). All these made analysts such as Kaufman

(1979: 35) to describe public organisations as 'making their marks in inches, and achieving modest results at best'.

The effect of managerialism on the public sector is marked by a sharp increase in the strict application of such practices as strategic planning, commitment to cost-effectiveness, customer service, performance management, and outsourcing to a similar degree as is practiced in the private sector. While these practices are not new to the public sector per se, there is a renewed vigour with which their implementation is pursued. In incorporating these practices, public managers are expected to improve efficiency, reduce burdensome costs and enhance organizational performance in a competitive stakeholder fashion. The concept of managerialism largely ignores the administrative-political environment which rewards risk-averse behaviour; on the contrary, it rewards managerial initiatives (Dixon, Kouzmin, and Korac-Kakabadse, 1998). Additionally, managerialism views [professional] management as portable and transferable; paramount over technical expertise and as requiring high discretionary power to achieve results (free to manage); and indispensable to better organisational performance (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Martin, 1983). Taken together, managerialism represents a fundamental critique of bureaucracy as a model of organisational design— a machinery for realising government's policy objectives. Following from these analyses then, NPM can be said to be a critique of state bureaucracy.

Analysts such as (Aucoin, 1990 and Christensen and Laegreid, 2002) argue that to the extent that NPM combines public choice and managerialism it would struggle to harmonise three sets of profoundly conflicting administrative and management values and practices in respect of politicians and public managers. These values are centralisation of political power, and decentralisation of organisational and managerial power; coordination of

government activities and deregulation of these at the organisational/managerial level; and control of the bureaucratic state and related activities and delegation of organisational and managerial powers. It has consequently been argued that the potential difficulty introduced by NPM is to be found in the uncertainties in the proportions in which political control and managerial devolution are to be combined, and the associated paradoxes (Aucoin, 1990) that governments invariably encounter. Given this combination '(marriage of opposites)' (Hood, 1991), NPM has been described as inherently conflictual, contradictory and paradoxical, a point that is central to this research, and to which I return later in this chapter. It is these two concepts, backed by strong ideological discourses, which have sought increasingly to influence and deface public management and public service delivery across the globe that we refer to as NPM. A discussion of the distinctiveness of NPM follows next.

2.4 The distinctiveness of NPM: Bureaucracy, Traditional Public Administration and NPM

For a true appreciation of NPM, it is imperative to examine to determine whether and the extent to which it is distinct from other models of public management. A useful starting point for conceptualising and examining the distinctiveness of NPM would be Hood's (1991) observation that 'its distinctiveness lay in reversing the cardinal doctrines of public administration (PA)' and Olowu's (2002) observation that 'the entry point of NPM is its critique that public sector bureaucracy has either been overstretched or outlived its usefulness'. The cardinal features of NPM Hood refers to are essentially *keeping the public distinct from the private, and reducing the discretion of public officials* so as to forestall any form of rent-seeking and corrupt behaviour by public officials. By maintaining that the public and

private can collaborate in many ways, and for insisting public officials require greater levels of discretion and autonomy to be effective, NPM advocates quite the opposite. Table 2.2 below taken from Hood (1991) helps glean the distinguishing features of traditional PA.

Table 2.2 *Three sets of core values in public administration*

	Sigma-type values	Theta-type values	Lambda-type values
	Keep it lean & purposeful	keep it honest & fair	keep it robust & resilient
Standard of success	<i>Frugality</i> (Matching of resources to tasks for given goals)	<i>Rectitude</i> (Achieving fairness, mutuality, proper discharge)	<i>Resilience</i> (Achievement, reliability, adaptability, robustness)
Standard of failure	<i>Waste</i> (muddle, confusion Inefficiency)	<i>Malversation</i> (unfairness, bias abuse of office)	<i>Catastrophe</i> (risk, breakdown, collapse)
Currency of success and failure	<i>Money and Time</i> (resource costs of Producers & consumers)	<i>Trust and Entitlement</i> (consent, legitimacy, due process, political entitlement)	<i>Security and Survival</i> (confidence, life and limb)
Control emphasis	Output	Process	Input
Slack	Low	Medium	High
Goals	Fixed/Single	Incompatible/Double bind	Emergent/Multiple
Information	Costed, segmented, Commercial asset	Structured	Rich Exchange Collective asset
Coupling	Tight	Medium	Loose

Source: Hood (1991)

Traditional public administration was designed on strong bureaucratic principles of meritocracy, objectivity and neutrality (Olowu, 2002). In Weber's ideal type bureaucracy, there must be 'an elaborate hierarchical division of labour directed by explicit rules impersonally applied, staffed by full-time, life-time, professionals'. Such professionals do not own the 'means of administration', or their jobs, or the sources of their funds, and live off a salary, not from income derived directly from the performance of their job (Kilcullen, 1996 and Lefort, 1986)'. On the basis of Max Weber's concept of bureaucracy, the following fundamental features are discernible: (i) The duties of functionaries are officially fixed by laws, rules, or administrative dispositions; (ii) The functions are hierarchical and integrated into a tall system of command; (iii) Administrative activity, which requires a professional apprenticeship is spelled out in written documents; (iv) The work of functionaries demands complete devotion to the office; (v) Access to the profession is at the same time access to a particular technology and jurisprudence.

From this analysis some conclusions have been drawn concerning the bureaucrat (see for example, Lefort, 1986): (i) They treat their office as the exercise of a profession, requiring a form of esoteric knowledge; attached to the office is the assurance of a suitable standard of living; (ii) The bureaucrat is in the service of an objective and impersonal goal, inherent in the enterprise to which they are attached-state, commune, party or capitalist enterprise, not of a person. (iii) They enjoy a certain prestige usually guaranteed by a special status which confers on them certain legal rights; (iv) They are normally appointed by a superior authority, not elected from below, as the election of bureaucrats undermines hierarchical discipline; (v) While there is often assurance of stability of employment this precludes exclusive possession over the office held; (vi) Promotions are often mechanical and wholesale while salary is determined by the nature of employment if often by seniority,

meaning remuneration reflects hierarchy; (vii) The development of a capitalist economy and the effective working of democracy are necessary and fundamental to the effective operation of bureaucracy.

The foregoing summary is no wise exhaustive; nonetheless I believe it plays three important functions. First, it is these values and principles upon which PA systems of Western OECD public sectors are animated. Second, it presents a cogent reference point for understanding the distinctiveness of NPM reforms from traditional PA. Third, against the backdrop of the level of bureaucratisation of the public sectors of most LDCs, it presents the basis for arguing whether and to what extent Western-type NPM reforms are suitable solutions for public sector problems in these countries.

In this section I briefly review PA systems of Western democracies animated on administrative values grounded in the concept of bureaucracy summarised above. The aim is to glean the distinctive features of NPM, and highlight why its implementation is likely to encounter both conceptual and practical administrative difficulties in general and in LDCs in particular. In doing so, I employ Hood's (1991) classification of PA values, and Peters' (1996) concept of public administrative chestnuts, re-echoed, if slightly modified, in Oluwu (2002). This helps to assess whether and the extent to which it can be claimed that NPM seeks to replace the bureaucracy-dominated PA. To begin, I turn to Hood's (1991) examination of the three such administrative values as:

- (i) *Sigma-type values* focus on results and outputs, matching resources to goals; and exercising extreme parsimony in resource use;
- (ii) (ii) *Theta-type values* stress strict adherence to rules and procedures with little attention to outcomes and equity; and

- (iii) (iii) *Lambda-type values* place emphasis on resilience, robustness, reliability, avoidance of mistakes and adaptability to change.

From the above, public administration is designed as a system with multi-dimensional values, a system that attempts to harmonise three apparently contradictory principles. Clearly, all three sets of values as shown above must be pursued concurrently if the public interest is to be pursued. It is unclear however how and the degree to which each of these values could be pursued without stumbling at the other.

Peters (1996) refers to six administrative principles that he called the chestnuts of the PA, which he contrasts with NPM. This is illustrated on **Table 2.3**.

Table 2.3 *Old Public Administration Chestnuts compared with New Public Management*

Old Public Administration	New Public Management
Apolitical Civil Service	Political and Accountable Management
Hierarchy and Rules	Markets superior to hierarchies; emphasis on contracts, not rules
Permanence and Stability	Contractual Management
Institutionalised Civil Service	Only small service and strategic centre required
Internal Regulation	Internal Regulation only for the rump of the service, not privatised or decentralised
Equality of Outcomes	Differential Outcomes

Taken from Olowu (2002: 65) originally extracted from Peters (1996)

From the above, one distinctive feature of NPM can be clearly discerned as its one-dimensional emphasis on sigma-type values to the neglect of theta-type and lambda-type values (**Table 2.2**) (see also Hood, 1991). It is clearly this feature which underpins the stress the NPM model places on setting fixed, realistic and checkable goals, managing for results as well as greater parsimony and frugality in public resource use (Hood, 1991). If NPM represents a reform or paradigm shift as suggested by this analysis, one fundamental question remains, ‘what precisely is being reformed’, a question I now turn to.

2.5 What is being reformed?

It is difficult to pin down precisely what the substance of NPM is without first grasping what it attempts to transform or replace. This is what I have attempted in the preceding section. Flowing from the above, NPM reforms should be understood as quintessentially attempts to achieve political, managerial, and organisational changes with the ultimate view to effecting permanent changes to traditional public administration. I have already explained the political and managerial reforms (Table 2.1), so they would not be repeated here; instead, I discuss the organisational reforms below. NPM assumes a rational approach to organisations (Kolberg, 2004), suggesting that organisations type plays a central role in its model. The need to redefine organisational boundaries (reach) has given birth to corporatisation, a means by which organisations are structured in ways that encourage and support effective public-private cooperation (Mulgan, 2004). This *corporatised* design of public organisations also implies a redefinition of the scale and reach of public organisations (Clarke et al, 2000). Additionally, corporatising an organisation allows such an organisation to be managed differently to traditional public organisations. I explore corporatisation in greater detail in the sections that follow.

2.6 The Benefits of Corporatisation

I use considerable space in this section explaining corporatisation because it is emerging as the commonest organisational form in many LDCs pursuing NPM reforms (Polidano, 1999). I believe this would give the reader a firm basis of understanding and examining the issues coming up in this research, conducted in a LDC context. Corporatisation refers fundamentally to the process of breaking public service organisations into free-standing semi-autonomous units designed around specific products or services (Hood, 1991). A design that ensures convenience and flexible management, corporatisation also encourages effective collaboration between public and private organisations, as it permits the operation on decentralised one-line budgets, allowing similar organisations to deal with one another on an arms length basis” (Hood, 1991). An important objective of corporatisation is the transfer of certain functions from bureaucratic control to separate autonomous, management units, a process normally requiring a legislative instrument to authenticate (Yuen, 1994; Wei, 2002). This design represents the ideal-type organisational structure required for mediating the conflicting doctrines of public choice and managerialism (see Aucoin, 1990; Yuen, 1994; Christensen and Laegreid, 1999).

First, corporatisation increases politicians’ control of government agencies, allowing the former to exercise greater, direct control over government agencies and other public organisations. Politicians’ control over public organisations becomes consolidated by use of contracts, which sets the boundary for what public managers can do (Christensen and Laegreid, 2002).

Second, it offers managers greater discretion over organisational decision-making and increased use of private management models. Moreover, as an organisational restructuring strategy, corporatisation paves way for the exercise of active, visible, discretionary control of organisations by chief executives (Hood, 1991). Corporatisation allows increased flexibility in employment practices; managers can switch between permanent core and temporary peripheral staffs. It also fosters increased public-private collaboration in delivering public services (Martin, 1983; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Aucoin, 1990). Corporatisation thus provides the most effective vehicle for carrying forward the prescriptions of public choice and managerialism, on which NPM is modelled.

Third, corporatisation is believed to address the agency problem, which underlies the inefficiency of public organisations under traditional PA (Yuen, 1994; Wei, 2002; Zhang, 2004). The agency (principal-agent) problem stems from the separation of ownership from control of modern corporations. The agency problem is explained by the following argumentation, which is a mere summary (full analyses are provided in Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Easterbrook and Fischel, 1991; Wei, 2002; Zhang, 2004). In a contractual relationship involving an owner (principal) and a hired manager (agent), the latter cannot be expected to act in the best interest of the former as they both have different and often conflicting interests. To reduce this risk the principal employs strategies such as bonding (aligning principal/agent interests); and monitoring (increasing surveillance). There is a dilemma here because intensifying such strategies increases costs but reduces the risk of the agent pursuing extra personal benefits from the business, and the reverse is also true. It is the principal's personal commitment to the business, driven by the profit motive (or property rights) that accounts for its success (Wei, 2002; Zhang, 2004).

In public enterprises however, the agency problem becomes more acute due to lack of well-defined property rights (ownership) in its equity and for the fact that ownership (principal) resides in government (agent) who have no actual property rights. This lack of direct stake weakens the incentive for efficiency. It is fundamentally this lack of incentive for efficiency that is believed to be one of the problems that corporatisation is meant to resolve since it invites individuals and communities to be direct stakeholders in public organisations. Moreover, compared to private organisations the corporate structure of most public organisations is arguably more adept in increasing the agency costs (Wei, 2002) and hence the renewed interest in corporatising public institutions, which allows the adoption of private corporate business structures.

In the context of corporatised organisations, those who might come close to the principal might be senior managers hired on performance-related pay contracts. That said, analysts have argued that much of the agency problem still remains even after corporatisation, hence the (paradoxical) solution lies in translating corporatised bodies, to privatised organisations, which would see ownership totally transferred to private individuals (Wei, 2002; Aivazian et al, 2005). There are competing trade-offs between maintaining corporatised organisation as public entities and converting them into private organisations. The former option implies increased expenditure on bonding, etc, and the latter implies losing control and exposing the public to the risks of market failure. For instance the possibility of there being negative externalities has dominated most debates over recent public sector reforms. There is in effect, a paradox of values here for politicians between keeping corporatised organisations overly public or private. As Wei (2002) argues unless the state only keeps a passive ownership, it is not clear how the government can be truly separated from the enterprises. On the other hand if the state indeed withdraws its

ownership and control over its corporatised enterprises then what mechanisms will the State put in place to prevent enterprise managers from abusing their newly acquired power? This remains a serious dilemma and one of the central issues of concern over NPM reforms. Next I examine the reasons why governments are increasingly resorting to corporatisation.

2.6.1 *Contemporary Issues in Corporatisation*

A number of issues have arisen from the arguments that have been advanced in favour of corporatising public organisations. Firstly, there is the issue of economic efficiency, which has underlain much government effort to corporatise public organisations. This has been sought through such flexible arrangements as outsourcing and privatisation (Yuen, 1994; Yamamoto, 2004; Aivazian et al, 2005; Mulgan, 2004). However the fact that many corporatisation projects have yielded mixed results (Polidano, 1999; Dodoo, 1997; Bissessar, 1998; Greenaway, 1995; Doig, 1997) opens the claim that ‘corporatisation guarantees economic efficiency’ to debate. Firstly, corporatisation has delivered undesirable outcomes

(Islam, 1993; Mallon, 1994); hence there is little evidence to establish a strong link between corporatisation and efficiency (Kolberg, 2004). In some cases corporatisation not only failed to deal with the agency problem; it had tended to increase it (Zhang, 2004). Secondly, in some cases, efficiency is achieved at the expense of equity and ethical considerations (Greenaway, 1995; Doig, 1997; Emery and Giaque, 2003; Noordhoek and Saner, 2004; Fawkner, 2000). Even with evidence of a strong causal link between corporatisation and

economic efficiency, the justification of corporatisation merely on its ability to deliver efficiency cannot be sustained since society has more than just economic dimensions.

Second, corporatised organisations have been seen as networks of government action: as agents through which governments implement policies that are seemingly unpopular on grounds of political expediency (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000; Meier and Hill, 2005). Highly debatable economic efficiency-related policies such as downsizing, retrenchment and privatisation provide classic illustration especially in most developing countries where voting decisions are based largely on the micro-analysis of government short-term economic policies. For instance Yamamoto (2004) discovered about the corporatisation of Japanese universities that beyond the reforms, benignly projected as a revolution for effective governance, was the hidden agenda of downsizing and retrenchment of employees, which were all met with considerable resentment. In effect, governments are able, through corporatised organisations, to do what they are unable to do through traditional public organisations. In that sense, senior managers in such organisations might have lenses similar to those of politicians especially when it comes to dealing with issues relating to cost. For instance, the corporatisation agenda could be directed at providing greater flexibility especially in dealing with thorny personnel matters such as salary scales, and hiring and firing, as was the case with corporatising health in Hong Kong (Yuen, 1994). This way, politicians are able to remove certain functions from the clutters of bureaucratic control in order to exercise greater control and influence over them (Polidano, 1999).

Third, corporatisation has been employed as a means to escape a myriad of organisational and managerial ills prevalent in most state bureaucracies (Polidano, 1999). Polidano (1999)

has argued that in many LDCs this organisation design is employed to ensure normal operational viability due to shortage of managerial and technical expertise, which often results from low remuneration (Cohen, 1995; Colclough, 1997a) in public organisations.

Fourth, corporatising presents opportunities for greater collaboration with and participation by other stakeholders (voluntary, private, professional groups) in the provision of public services. It helps optimise the use of private expertise (Yuen, 1994), and it widens the participation of private stakeholders in delivering public services. This way, public organisations are both able to access private expertise and capital and to ensure competition, believed to be prerequisite for in delivering public services in the most effective way.

Finally, corporatisation has been adopted as a tool for safeguarding corruption, since corporatised bodies operate flatter organisational structures and have greater transparency in the processes of procurement and the award of public contracts. However, this point is surrounded by contradictory injunctions. On the one hand, long bureaucratic procedures tend to create inertia in the delivery of public services. Corporatising public organisations becomes a means by which the constraints imposed by long bureaucratic procedures can be escaped (Polidano, 1999). In that sense, corporatisation may provide a form of convenience for politicians to be able to do things quickly and more flexibly. On the other hand, this 'convenience' could and has been abused by public managers who engage in corrupt practices. Awortwi's work on the corporatisation of refuse collection in Ghana revealed a number of irregularities in the process of designing, tendering and awarding contracts. Examples of this abound even in developed countries (Greenaway, 1995) and so it should not be conceived as exclusively a developing country phenomenon.

2.6.2 *Corporatisation: Functionaries, functions and procedures*

Corporatisation is a process, and often a precursor to outright privatisation (Aivazian et al, 2005), and requires redesigning organisational structures, redefining organisational processes and reorganising managerial functions. Except in the area of finance (in most cases) the corporatised organisation and its management board have considerable autonomy (Cheung, 2002). Senior management are empowered to make most crucial decisions so long as they can effectively defend these on economic grounds (Cheung, 2002). Within this framework, I discuss in the proceeding section, the special arrangements in corporatised organisations in relation to the managerial function as well as ways in which public service provision is organised and managed.

Centrality of managers: Managers occupy a crucial position under the corporatisation agenda, and are better addressed Chief Executives. Arguably, the term Chief Executive, as against administrator or managing director, plays a rhetorical role in changing perceptions about the power and function of the top management. By illustration, Cheung's (2002) study of the corporatisation of China's public hospitals revealed the Chief Executive was required to possess overseas experience as effective chief executive, although surprisingly neither formal medical training nor experience in working in public sector was a prerequisite. Instead excellent general management skills and a sound understanding of medical activities were essential (Scott, 1985 section 6.4.6; Cheung, 2002). This was based on the realisation that NPM model's answer to the problem of inefficiency lies, in large part, in recruiting a professional generalist manager, and letting them negotiate the path to specified objectives, unencumbered by institutional obstacles (Hood, 1991; Appana, 2003). Moreover managers' devolution is balanced by accountability, achieved through the signing of short-term

performance contracts with the supervising government department (Zhang, 2004; Shirley and Xu, 2001; Awortwi, 2002). In effect the centrality of managers to NPM reforms becomes more evident in corporatised organisations, hence the growth in preference for corporatised, rather than traditional public organisations in the era of NPM.

Mode of provision: The general inefficiency identified in public service provision can be explained, in part, on the basis of how service is provided. A fundamental axiom of NPM is that addressing how, and by whom services are provided is crucial to improving public services in general. Enterprise managers then have to decide whether to provide some or all of their services in-house or outsource them to external service providers with the latter option often dominating, thus placing contracting-out at the very heart of the corporatisation agenda. Essentially the legal framework stipulates the proportion of services that can be provided in house and those to be sourced externally (Awortwi, 2002).

In summary corporatisation becomes the strategy for ensuring private participation in public provision, and from organisational theory perspective, could be conceptualised as a form of organisational rationalisation strategy. Additionally, corporatisation forms part of the corporate restructuring agenda of the 1980s and 1990s, underpinned by flexibility considerations (see Atkinson, 1984; Cappelli and Neumark, 2004), which also resonated with UK's Conservatives under Thatcher, Major, and later Blair. Part of this agenda has been a shift towards quasi-markets (Le Grant and Barlett, 1993), post-bureaucratic forms of organizations (Heydebrand, 1989) and government by contract (Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes, 1993). Within this framework contracting-out (outsourcing) has become a popular means of delivering public services. I discuss in the next section, outsourcing in the context of NPM reforms.

2.7 Outsourcing as NPM strategy

I find it important to include a detailed section on outsourcing, essentially for two reasons. First, in the context of NPM reforms outsourcing is understood as part of government strategies for ensuring quality through competition in public service provision. In that sense outsourcing constitutes an important component of the substance of NPM. Second, the fundamental objective of this research is to understand how professional middle (public) managers respond to the issues they encounter under NPM in the environment of outsourcing, where public and private organisations collaborate. The field of outsourcing then becomes the arena where the activities and interactions of senior and middle managers occur. In such an environment, there is strict attention to cost issues especially because of the presence of private service managers, placing the outsourcing of public services at the very heart of my research. In this section, a brief iteration of the benefits of outsourcing is followed by the examination of its conceptual and theoretical underpinnings.

2.8 The potential benefits of outsourcing: why organisation outsource

Although outsourcing per se is not new in the history of government and business enterprise, the past two decades have witnessed a renewed interest in outsourcing. This era also parallels a spurt in the search for apparently more effective means of organizing production in business enterprise and providing services in the public sector. These developments (which include globalization-driven competition) occasioned, accelerated by the rapid developments in information and communication technology (Wirtz, 2001); and more demanding consumers and citizens (McIvor, 2005), have led to the adoption of more flexible methods of employment. The latter factor produced two interrelated outcomes,

which further accentuated the interest and growth in outsourcing. Firstly, there are evolving organisational structures that significantly abandon many features of traditional forms of [often large vertically integrated] organizations in preference for more organic structures and flattened hierarchies. This has been described as: the 'network organisation' (Miles and Snow, 1986); the 'shamrock organisation' (Handry, 1989); and the 'extended enterprise' (Brown et al, 1995). Secondly, there is the assumption that best value is attained through the use of competitive market solutions for service provision (McIvor, 2005). There have consequently been a series of public sector reforms targeting the restructuring of the provision and delivery of public services in ways that allow increased private participation.

It is overwhelmingly accepted that one of the fundamental underlining motivations for outsourcing is cost considerations (Ford et al., 1993; Winkleman et al., 1993; Hiemstra and van Tilburg, 1993; Webster and Alder, 1997; Lankford and Parsa, 1999; Lonsdale and Cox, 2000; Price Waterhouse Coopers, 1999; Fill and Visser, 2000; Lonsdale and Cox, 2000; McIvor, 2000; 2005; Jennings, 2002). That said the cost argument is debatable, and there are various other reasons for outsourcing. These include improved access to expertise and specialist technology leading to improved quality, and competitive advantage (Webster and Alder, 1997; Lonsdale and Cox, 2000). Outsourcing also allows flexibility where organisations can maintain a lean staff of experts, and a large number of temporary employees on contract basis, deployed and redeployed in response to market demand fluctuations (Jennings, 2002). Organisations outsource also because they want to benefit from economies of scope (Juma'h and Wood, 2000).

Besides the fact that outsourcing helps organisations to benefit from increased focus upon core activities leading to the design and development of new products it is also believed to be a strategic shift in the way organizations manage their businesses (Jennings, 2002). Knowledge and capacity considerations are also known to be strong drivers of outsourcing decisions (Hiemstra and van Tilburg, 1993). Organizations also outsource because they want to divorce their attention from production and quality problems thus avoiding direct responsibility for yield and quality as well as have 'less sorrow' (Aarts et al., 1995). McIvor (2000) discovered that outsourcing benefits the outsourcing organization in several ways including: sourcing from the most competent source; increased flexibility relating to when and how to employ labour and when to produce; reduced risk expenditure, and effective supply management. Finally, it is argued that by outsourcing, companies are able to reduce labour costs by pay for a service only as and when they need it (Fazakerley, 1996). Analysts have identified a number of risks associated with outsourcing but these will not be discussed here, and readers are referred to McIvor, (2005: 23-6) and Cox and Lonsdale (2000) for details. Whether and to what extent these assertions about outsourcing are true, remains matters of intense, never-ending academic debate however.

2. 9 Theoretical basis of outsourcing

Essentially a private sector business practice, outsourcing is the means by which an organization relies on another organization to provide some of its products or services. It is about deciding on whether to 'make or buy' a product or service, and involves, in McIvor's (2005: 1) words, 'redrawing the boundaries between the organisation and its supply base'. Theoretically, like NPM, outsourcing is underlain by [new institutional] economic and [strategic] management theories (Lee et al, 2000; Cheon et al, 1995). From the strategic

management literature two theories have been identified as the resource-based theory (Penrose, 1959; Barney, 1991) and the resource-dependence theory (Thompson, 1967; Aldrick and Pfeffer, 1976), while transaction cost theory (Coase, 1937; Williamson, 1985) and agency cost theory (Ross, 1973; Mitnick, 1975; Jensen and Meckling, 1976) have been identified from the economic theory literature. I discuss these in turn below.

2. 9.1 *Resource-based theory (RBT)*

The RBT of outsourcing views a firm's growth as function of increased use of productive resources and emphasizes resources internal to the firm as the principal driver of its profitability and strategic advantage (Penrose, 1959). Such resources include physical capital resources; human capital resources and organizational capital resources (Thompson and Strickland, 1983; Hitt and Ireland, 1986; Barney, 1991). The RBT states that a firm's competitive advantage over another lay in two areas: the heterogeneity and immobility of all three resources, the former referring to how different resources are across firms, the latter the inability of competing firms to obtain the resources from other sources (Williamson, 1981; Cheon et al, 1995: 211). To have competitive advantage, a firm's resources must have: value (valuable to firms); rareness (unique or rare among the firm's current and potential competitors); imperfect immutability (impossible for competing firms to imitate the resources); and non-substitutability (cannot be substituted with another by competing firms) [see Barney, 1991 for detailed analysis].

The RBT in effect, posits that the firm's competitive advantage stems from its ability to harness and exploit existing resources as well as develop its potential resources (Grant, 1996) and this might necessitate external acquisition of elementary resources and

capabilities. The process of acquiring external resources and capabilities equates with outsourcing and has been described as *filling the gap of resources and capabilities* (Cheon et al (1995) in strategic management literature. Thus outsourcing strategy should assist the firm in enhancing its capacity to maintain existing stock of resources and capabilities, argument external resources and capabilities in order to extend the firm's positions of competitive advantage and broaden its opportunity set (Grant, 1996). Precisely, outsourcing is a strategic device which can be used to fill gaps. Literally then, what a firm would outsource is the shortfall between its desired and actual resources and capabilities.

2. 9. 2 *The resource dependence theory (RDT)*

Focusing essentially on the external environment of the firm, the RDT argues that all organizations find themselves dependent, if to varying degrees, on some elements in their external environment (Thompson, 1967; Aldrick and Pfeffer, 1976). This is necessitated by the fact that some essential elements required for the firm's competitive advantage are located outside the firm and controlled by external forces (organizations). Such resources, including factors of production, specific information, products and services (see Kotter, 1979) would have to be outsourced. Essentially, RDT emphasizes the centrality of organizations' ability to adapt to environmental uncertainty, coping with problematic interdependence and actively managing or controlling resource flows (Pfeffer and Salanick, 1978). Dependence on a firm's external environment provides a useful perspective for examining relationships between an organisation's decision to outsource certain functions and the organisation's effectiveness. It also provides a robust framework for examining those dimensions of task environment that may determine the firm's dimension of resource (Cheon et al, 1995). There are costs either way (in-sourcing and outsourcing), and a

decision to outsource would thus be based among other things on cost-saving capacity of each alternative. In consequence an organisation's dependence on other organizations (outsourcing) is determined by the importance of the resource (outsourced) to the organization; the number of potential suppliers; and the cost of switching suppliers. Outsourcing strategy would thus be composed of different degrees of organizational interdependence for obtaining the critical resources unavailable in-house. Thus outsourcing decision would take into account how much the organisation's strategy depends on external elements and resources for implementation.

2. 9.3 *Transaction cost theory (TCT)*

TCT is grounded in economic theory essentially in the work of Coase (1937). In this work, Coase argued that the size and scope of firms is limited by the problem of diseconomies of scale and scope due to decreasing returns to the entrepreneurial function as firms grow, thus pushing up marginal cost of production. In the process, Coase argued, a point is attained when the cost of *organizing an extra transaction within the firm* is equal to the cost involved in *carrying it out in the open market or by another entrepreneur*. At this critical point the entrepreneur needs to make three strategic decisions: continue, discontinue or outsource the production of the product. Although the word outsourcing was not given an explicit expression in Coase, this was highly implicit in his analysis. In short the TCT maintains that the organization of an economic activity depends on balancing the production economics e.g., scale, against the cost of transacting it (Williamson, 1981). Transaction refers to the exchange of goods and services between technologically separate economic units within or outside the firm. TCT identifies two separate costs that need considering-prior to making decisions on in-house provision as production costs and transaction costs. While

outsourcing leads to a lower production cost due often to economies of scale it tends to lead generally to higher transaction costs arising from negotiating, monitoring, bonding and enforcing contracts. This is a potential source of conflict and dilemma.

In evaluating an outsourcing option, therefore, there is need to focus on three factors influencing the magnitude of transaction costs: (i) asset specificity which measures the uniqueness or substitutability of assets; (ii) *the degree of uncertainty in the environment* with low uncertainty guaranteed through an elaborate, complicated and costly contractual agreement; and (iii) *infrequency of contracting* which measures the frequency with which the two parties contract together (for detailed analysis, see Williamson, 1985, Cheon et al, 1995: 213-4). There is a one-way causal relationship between asset specificity, degree of uncertainty and infrequency of transaction, on the one hand, and the cost of transaction on the other such that the more specific the asset, the more uncertain the environment, and the more infrequent the contracting, is the higher the transaction costs. From this analysis the decision to outsource would be based on transaction cost, further influenced by asset specificity, uncertainty of environment, and infrequency of contracting.

2. 9.4 *Agency cost theory (ACT)*

Principal-agent relationships introduce fundamental difficulties, and it is these that the ACT examines. This analysis is based on the works of Ross (1973) and Jensen and Meckling (1976). TCT is concerned with determining the most efficient contract (outsourcing or in-sourcing) that governs the relationship between a principal and an agent (Eisenhardt, 1988). The choice between the two depends on the agency costs, including monitoring costs by the principal; the bonding costs by the agent, and the residual loss of the principal. Illuminating succinctly the factors that influence the magnitude of agency

costs, the ACT provides an excellent framework for evaluating the relative advantages of the different internal and external organization forms for handling contracts between an outsourcing service receiver and provider (Cheon et al, 1995).

Five factors influencing the magnitude of agency costs have been identified (Cheon et al, 1995) as: outcome uncertainty; risk aversion by the outsourcing receiver/provider; programmability or the degree to which appropriate behaviours by the outsourcing provider can be specified in advance; outcome measurability; and the length of the agency relationship. It is prudent for firms to concentrate on core activities and rely on subcontractors for peripheral activities (Prahalad and Hamel, 1990). In summary the decision of an organization to outsource some of its functions is determined by its internal resources, external environment, the relative cost of providing or transacting the functions as well as the ease or difficulty with which it is able to contract with other firms to provide the service and the associated costs. To this end, agency cost is high in outsourcing relationships where there is high uncertainty and risk aversion; low programmability and outcome measurability; and greater length of relationships.

The importance of this summary of outsourcing theories lay in the fact that it helps to make better sense of the nature of interaction of senior and middle managers in this project. The theories of outsourcing examined above are fundamentally attempts to explain, on the one hand how organisations assess the relationships between the resources they possess and those they require in order to be effective, and on the other how they fill the identified resource gaps. The kind of resource gaps that need to be filled and the associated problems that the organisation expects to resolve would largely determine the rationale for an outsourcing project. Although the rationale for outsourcing was not initially

very central to this research, understanding these would be useful in explaining the differences in the nature of interaction especially between projects of high-value and low-value skills (see chapter four for detailed discussion). Having now dealt with the theoretical issues (and other related concepts) of NPM; the organizational, managerial and structural arrangements that have become fundamental for effective NPM reforms (corporatisation); and the various modes of provision (particularly outsourcing) in this final part of the chapter I turn to empirical accounts of NPM reforms and associated issues.

2.10 A working definition of NPM

Having now examined some of the criticisms of and conceptual ambiguities surrounding NPM, it is essential I believe, to offer my personal definition of NPM. From all my readings so far, hardly any author attempts a concise definition of NPM. Commentators have at best enumerated the commonly-cited doctrinal areas of NPM; at worst, they assume their audience understand what NPM is all about and launch into arguments and debates straight away. This is not very helpful to new entrants to the NPM debate, and necessitates the need for a working definition. Thus taking on board all the features discussed so far, and for the purpose of this study, I define NPM as:

a strategic, inclusive perspective on public sector management rooted in the belief that efficiency in delivering public services can be attained by there being a mutual cooperation in resource [human and non-human] sharing between the public and the private sectors, with public managers, like their private sector counterparts, offered enough authority to manage the public business in ways similar to private concerns and get held accountable for their discretionary actions.

From the foregoing it is fair to argue that NPM is distinctive from PA in various ways but particularly to the extent it proposes to increase the power of public managers and reduce bureaucratic controls that serve as a break on their power while increasing the regulatory instruments by which politicians exercise control over public managers' work. It is worth noting that NPM is far from a perfect, cohesive model; it has been found to contain a long list and an ever increasing number of internal inconsistencies, conflicts, contradictions, which collectively constitute the source of the many criticisms levelled against NPM, which I discuss next.

2. 11 Criticisms of NPM: internal inconsistencies, tensions and contradictions in NPM

The first criticism is that NPM has a theoretical foundation premised on two opposite theories of public choice and managerialism, emphasising values in conflict and tension with each other (Aucoin, 1990; Hood, 1991; Christensen and Laegreid, 2002). For instance while public choice emphasises contractualism, enduing politicians with increased power to exercise control over the delivery of services, managerialism on the contrary emphasises greater devolution and autonomy to public managers (hands-on management) (Christensen and Laegreid, 2002). In this sense the harmonisation (in NPM) of contractualism and devolution underpins one of the much debated contradictions and conflicts within NPM (Emery and Giaque, 2003). Essentially then, the centralising tendencies of contractualism and devolutionary tendencies of managerialism produce possible paradoxes and contradictions (Aucoin, 1990; Pollit, Birchall and Putnam, 1998). Such paradoxes, it has been argued (Aucoin, 1990), result in the adoption of administrative principles best described as pendulums moving towards binary ends, producing in a tensional fashion,

political centralisation with managerial decentralisation; political coordination with managerial deregulation; and political control with managerial delegation.

A second criticism of NPM germane to this study is its one dimensional emphasis on economic values and norms (efficiency) to the obvious neglect of other (equity, quality and ethical) considerations (Boston, 1991; Chrsitensen and Laegreid, 1999; 2002). This criticism questions the empirical basis of the belief that markets are better at distributing services than state bureaucracies. Consequently, commentators such as Noordhoek and Saner (2004) have concluded that 'NPM suffers from a fundamental misunderstanding between 'value-driven and effectiveness-driven approaches to government and public management. The implementation of NPM reforms could thus lead to very difficult trade-offs such that cost-saving decisions could seriously compromise other important public service values.

Thirdly, NPM has been criticised for taking public service honesty as given, thus ignoring any possibilities for public managers to engage in rent-seeking behaviour to the detriment of the national good. This is because the NPM model is premised on the assumption that public managers would be honest, and can be trusted to use their discretionary power in pursuing the public interest although there is little to safeguard or guarantee this. Thus the era of NPM has been an era of increased focus on outputs and results rather than procedures, a practice expressed as 'accountability for outputs'. However, this has led to corrupt practices, resulting in high public costs through public managers' dishonesty especially in recruitment and contract awarding process (Hood, 1995). Arguing from public choice perspective, if, as rational economic units, managers are believed to be guided by self-interest, how and to what extent can they be trusted to act in the public interest without being caught in the web of rent-seeking and corrupt behaviour (Terry, 1998)? This

threat of corruption would represent a possible corrosion in the 'robustness and resilience' dimension of public administration values (Lambda-type values, Hood, 1995) of NPM as explained in the previous section above (discussed in detail in chapter six). This argument is particularly relevant for economies in which democracy has yet to take root, and where public service ethics has not been fully developed (Hood, 1991; Olowu, 2002) as later analysis in this chapter reveals.

Fourth, there are questions about the empirical validity of the claim to fashioning public sector management on the model of operation of private business management in the manner suggested by the NPM model. The question here is, 'do private organisations actually operate in the manner presented by NPM theorists? Again, the fundamental assumption of NPM for transporting private management practices to public sector-that private and public management are similar-cannot be sustained under all circumstances (Olowu, 2002); moreover, the equating of customers to citizens, the pivot on which competition in public sector with its ramified practices has been animated, is either a display of ignorance or distortion of public service ethics based on sound principles of democratic citizenship and patriotism.

Lastly, there is little evidence to sustain the claim of the superiority of contractual production over bureaucratic production (Kelly, 1998). Similarly, the entrepreneurial model may be both a contradiction and undermining of democratic principles of fairness, justice, representation and participation (Olowu, 2002). While the list is by no means exhaustive, the foregoing summary represents the most common criticisms advanced in opposition to NPM.

2.12 Broad contemporary issues on NPM reforms

Evidence from NPM reforms in OECD countries suggests outcomes have been more disappointing than promising. Central themes emerging from such studies border on conflicts between, and incompatibility of NPM principles with the public sector values, ethos, ethics, culture and method of doing business. For instance, there are instances, as in above, where the one-dimensional emphasis on costs to the neglect and downgrading of other equally important considerations e.g., the quality of service, ethics, equity and following due process have been generated conflicts, thus bringing senior managers, committed to cost savings and professionals committed to service quality into direct conflicts. In this section I present a summary of studies from Switzerland, the Netherlands, the United King and New Zealand. I end the section with some recent changes occurring to the NPM model following its implementation in developed countries, which also present a basis for examining NPM in LDCs.

In their study of NPM reforms in Switzerland, Emery and Giaque (2003) found a number of what they described as contradictory injunctions in the internal design of NPM:

1. Clashes between individual and organisational goals where the inducement by rewards unleashed a commitment to meeting targets at the sacrifice of service quality
2. The rhetoric of empowerment of senior managers to manage with free hands resulted in increased control of professional middle level managers and substantial restriction on their professional autonomy and discretion.

3. Success was measured by the attainment of ends and results with little attention to means (procedures); this consideration is reinforced by the motivation for financial rewards. In other words, there was a confusing and hence conflating of output with outcomes. The argument is that motivation to perform is taken as end itself rather than a means to an end (developing a robust public sector with economic, social, ethnic and cultural considerations).

Similarly, Noordhoek and Saner (2004,) concluded from their studies in Netherlands that:

1. 'NPM' suffers from a fundamental misunderstanding between 'value-driven and effectiveness-driven approaches to government.
2. Citizens are turned into clients, and governments into companies negatively affecting citizens' contract with the State. This they claimed was eroding the pride that used to surround working for governments and threatens the very basis of patriotism in citizens
3. NPM has taken for granted civil servants' trustworthiness; which has been eroded by several instances of corrupt practices by civil servants. This point has great significance for most LDCs where there is unending debate on corruption. It has moreover been argued that there is more to public management than *trust* and *rationality* and that were considerations of power and trust and rationality factored into the design of NPM, its weakened rationality would have been overcome. The authors concluded NPM is suffering a decline in popularity as managerialism risks widening the gap between citizens and the government, and suggest a turn to a new form of public management: new public administration.

Again Greenaway, (1995) and Doig (1997) reported that NPM reforms have been blamed for facilitating ethical misconduct and corruption in industrialised countries such as the UK. In his study of NPM in New Zealand, Norman (2004) noted the country is making a conceptual shift in a number of the originally cherished tendencies of NPM. Making analysis of historical shifts in NPM policies over a period of 16 years, (pre 1984; 1984-2000; 2000 onwards) Norman noted the increasing political and ideological pressures on NPM policy frameworks to undergo major reshuffling in line with public sector ethics. He noted particularly how the policy changes have affected public sector functions, functionaries and procedures/methods over the period, and identified an emerging trend which points to a greater tendency to revert to some of the traditional PA values abandoned in preference for NPM strategies the 1980s. Such changes include: (i) a swing back to recruiting managers with technical or professional background rather than generic managers; (ii) a reduced emphasis on managerial autonomy and discretion from 'let managers manage', to 'let managers manage within a code of conduct amidst expectations of less competition and greater collaboration; (iii) a swift back to an emphasis on the employment of core staff and a reduction in the use of consultants; (iv) an ongoing restatement of public sector values in response to concerns about decline in public sector ethics.

All this suggests about NPM reforms, as McDaniel (1997) remarked, hat there are reasons to expect conflicts and dilemmas in juxtaposing private sector management models on the public sector. In all this the values of managerialism superimposed on those of professionalism are creating greater contradiction for professional managers, and conflicts between senior and professional middle managers

2.13 Contemporary issues in NPM reforms: implications for middle managers

Most studies of NPM reforms focusing attention on managers have treated the management function as a homogenous group, thus masking the diverse differences and issues emerging between the various levels of management. Middle managers are also confronted by a number of issues, being directly involved in reform implementation. In this section, I examine the challenges of subordinating professionals' work under senior managers, drawing the implications for managerial-professional relationships.

2.13.1 *Decentralisation/semi-autonomy under corporatisation*

The objective of giving semi-autonomy to public bodies is in part, to cut excessive bureaucratic control and increase innovation, flexibility and efficiency. Two issues have however arisen about the subject of autonomy. First, there are uncertainties and questions about the extent to which the rhetoric of autonomy has been translated into practical reality as experienced by managers; where this has occurred, it has almost entirely been restricted to senior managers, rather than professional middle managers. Second, in the context of public sector objectives autonomy is perceived as an exceptionally problematic phenomenon with difficult trade-offs (Collins and Green, 1999: 120-2). On the one hand, organisations without the requisite degree of autonomy tend to lack in terms of human and material resources and the power to make results-oriented decisions. On the other hand, too much autonomy to a public organisation, say a hospital for instance may result in the fragmentation of the health care system, creating a number of decision points, and has a great potential of two-fold conflict (Collins and Green, 1999). Moreover, there are conflicts between the short term objective of the particular department within the organisation (e.g. to meet performance targets for financial rewards) and those of the entire organisation; and

between those of the organisation and the public (health) sector as a whole. For instance a commitment to achieving hospital efficiency goals might cause hospital authorities to discharge patients much earlier from the wards than usual, against the overall health service objective of providing high quality health service to citizens. In addition, autonomy places an onus on the organisation to develop requisite managerial skills, systems and structures consistent with the management functions delegated to organisational functionaries, but the availability of these is often taken for granted and their absence can lead to gross inefficiency (Cassels, 1995).

2.13.2 *Public sector efficiency argument: ideological or evidence-based?*

The drive to attain economic efficiency is resulting in the need for a redefinition of efficiency in cost and output (quantitative) terms in agreement with broad NPM framework but in opposition to the traditional public administration's definition of efficiency, which incorporates positive outcomes of public policies for citizens. Consequentially, there have been instances of clash between individual and organisational objectives on the one hand protected and defended by senior managers, and public interest on the other protected and defended essentially by professionals (Laegreid and Roness, 2001; Emery and Giaque, 2003). To paraphrase Caron and Giaque (2006), the drive for economic efficiency with the brainchild of performance-related pay system, has resulted in a 'rise in institutional egoism' and a decline in the capacity to coordinate the state; the overvaluing of quantifiable results (output) measurement to the downgrading of assessment and evaluation of less quantifiable results (outcomes); an evolving syndrome of 'every man for himself' at both individual and organisational levels; and an evolution of a culture of fear and withdrawal in

a regime that penalises proper administrative procedures and endangers the ethics of the common good.

Moreover, granting top managers devolved powers to specify middle managers' task and the process of performance is expected to enhance the organisations' capacity to improve performance and cut cost, which would result ultimately in lower prices and better quality public services. In the corporatisation of the public organisation that Walshe and Smith studied, it is paradoxical that when managerial control of the organisations has been strengthened in ways that diminish professionals' power and influence, managers' ability to get things done seemed reduced, not enhanced (Smith and Walshe, 2004). It is argued moreover, that there seems to be rather few well-documented studies of services being improved and prices being lowered through increased competition and use of contracts (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999). On the contrary, corporatisation might lead to a weakening of public expertise, increased use of resources through more people being employed than before to manage the boundary-spanning interface of outsourcing, for instance, the hiring of expensive private consultants, and tendencies towards private monopolies or cartels (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999; Whitfield, 2001)

Arguably, many strategic practices such as performance related pay and performance contracts aimed at delivering efficiency and value for money have failed to deliver these objectives (Whitfield, 2001). For instance performance-related pay, core to agency contracts has been seen as paradoxical, yielding no clear performance; failing to create the envisioned flexible, satisfactory evaluation and compensation system, and failing to increase the motivation and productivity of managers or produce any difference in their (managers') loyalty to their organisations (Ingraham, 1998; OECD, 1998). It has tended instead to

produce top managers who hop from one organisation to another in search of agencies that offer the best contract (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999). Again, specifying everything in advance under performance-related contracts fails to provide a leeway for dealing with shocks and contingencies (Boston, 1996; Christensen and Laegreid, 2002). This failure might be linked with the contradictory nature of top managers' contracts, which enjoins them to act in accordance with the values and ethics of the civil service, yet to be concerned with the wider interests of the government and their ministers.

2.13.3 Breakdown in public service values

With the centrality of contracts and the conditioning potential of financial rewards under NPM, the relational contract that used to characterise the traditional public administration is rapidly giving way to transactional and agency contracts. Christensen and Laegreid (2002) reported that NPM has largely employed transactional and agency contracts and this has arguably aided the development of an elitist culture which replaces the egalitarian political administrative culture. The fragmentation of the public sector into corporatised bodies has been questioned (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999) for increasing competition between institutions, groups and individuals; weakening political leadership; reducing civil service and political loyalty and continuity in public institutions; and reducing professional expertise that used to typify public services. Again corporatisation (characterised by the competitive, contractual and low trust relationships) of hospitals has been criticised for contributing to a fall in the development of high trust relations and coordinated networks of action among healthcare organisations, which augur well for their operation and public welfare (Collins and Green, 1999).

2.13.4 *Clash between empowerment and reinforcement of control*

There are concerns that the language of empowerment has become a rhetorical smoke screen behind which hides an agenda for the reinforcement of political control. Broadbent and Laughlin (2002) found the prevalence of Tayloristic structures, particularly the control of task and work process by senior managers, under NPM. They argue that by defining output targets and tying resources to the achievement of different output levels NPM has introduced tighter hierarchical and market controls, thus undermining professional control or autonomy. This has been found to be demoralising and alienating especially if the required targets fail to be met (Townley, 1996; Broadbent et al, 1999). The cost of managerial authority is thus a decline in professional discretion. A similar argument goes that NPM entails the removal of policy advice from civil servants to private consultants, leading to the proliferation of private consulting firms, which weakens bureaucracy and strengthen political leadership. This has led to a strengthening of political control as politicised recruitment of public managers is likely to make managers more directly responsible to politicians, with appointed chief executives reluctant to give frank advice to politicians ((Boston, et al, 1991; Christensen and Laegreid, 1999). Additionally the incentive structure, which is widening the gap between public managers and civil servants, is increasing the political loyalty of public managers.

2.13.5 *Conflicts over professional values and managerial objectives*

As I have observed earlier in this chapter, the harmonisation of managerial objectives and professional autonomy remains a fundamental challenge of the NPM model. The growing dichotomy between administrative doctors (committed to enforcing managerial objectives)

and clinical doctors (committed to professional values and standards) in the hospitals has led to disagreements and conflicts among medical professionals (Sehested, 2002). One possible outcome of the current *medical managerialism* privileging managerial power over clinical autonomy (Cheung, 2002) could be the subordination of the professional and career interests of middle level doctors to managerial objectives such as cost-cutting and productivity enhancement. Now, that might not be the case in most circumstances but it does provide us with a starting point to examine the possible struggles between professionals and managers in the age of managerialism. Moreover, the establishment of a clinical manager's role, implying clinicians taking up managerial responsibilities (Doolin, 2001) could create an ideological divide among medical professionals in whose psyche the taking up of managerial responsibilities represents waste of time. Consequently, those taking up management positions tend to lose the support of fellow professionals, possibly leading to corrosion in the solidarity among medical professionals. Appointing clinicians as managers might thus be interpreted as a device to break professionals' front and solidarity; a disguised form of divide-and-rule mechanism that enables politicians to rule and control professionals using professionals rather than external managers, which can help curb the intensity of the confrontation between professional doctors and politicians. In fact this could pave the way for holding clinical managers partly accountable for policy outcomes.

2.13.6 *Corruption as cause or effect of corporatisation/NPM*

A topical issue emerging from NPM reforms, particularly in LDCs is the contradictory and ambiguous role of reforms regarding corrupt practices. Some studies have suggested reform policies in LDCs should be formulated to fight corruption before attempting to corporatise an over-bureaucratised public sector (Polidano, 1999; Hope and Chikulo, 2001;

Condrey et al, 2001; McCourt, 2001; Cheung, 2002). This means strengthening administrative and bureaucratic controls in ways that minimise corrupt rent-seeking behaviour by public office holders. However, there are ambiguities and dilemmas in following this argument as some of the findings also suggest that NPM reforms have paradoxically played a role in encouraging corrupt practices even in high places particularly in relation to the contract awarding and administration process (Polidano, 1999; Awortwi, 2002). Centralising bureaucratic processes in public organisations has been seen as a means of controlling corruption especially in LDCs (Condrey et al, 2001; McCourt, 2001), which counters NPM endorsement of decentralisation. On the contrary, increased centralisation has been seen as encouraging corrupt practices (Greenaway, 1995; Doig, 1997; Awortwi, 2002). This might help in explaining the reluctance of politicians to grant full autonomy or decentralised status to public organisations. Corruption has therefore remained a hotly debated, paradoxical and controversial subject in NPM reforms in LDCs. For professionals and their relationship with senior managers, the implications of all this could be numerous. The increased centralisation also means a reduction on professionals' autonomy and discretion over a range of issues, meaning greater senior management involvement in most organisational processes. As DeLeon and Green (2001: 621) argue the lessening of rules and increased flexibility will lead to administrative corruption because precise application of private sector management will not always work well in the public sector.

2.13.7 *Tensions between private and public sector values and objectives*

The juxtaposition of managerialism on public management ethos has presented professional managers with conflicting values and identities (Caron and Giaque, 2006). While it is not argued here that public sector values are opposed to cost savings, neither is

cost savings and profit fundamental objectives of public organisations whose first and foremost objective is to deliver quality service; hence the pursuit of cost savings in public organisation at the expense of other values is likely to generate conflicts and tensions. There are concerns that most NPM principles have in-built capacity to make civil servants and professionals act in ways that contradict public service values (Caron and Giaque, 2006). Examples include the conflict over quality and quantity in performance-related pay schemes and regimes; protecting organisational or institutional interest to attract more resources even if this would lead to negative externalities. In all these, frictions are likely to arise between cost saving oriented senior managers and professional managers, fundamentally oriented towards public sector values such as quality and equity.

2.13.8 *Middle managers: control, disillusionment and resistance*

Devolution to public organisations increases demand on them for effective management capacities, often lacking in public organisations. In hospital devolution, for instance, the management of GP health institutions ceases to be a function managed by doctors but that of managers (Mulgan, 2004; Smith and Walshe, 2004). Devolution has therefore tended to have serious implications for professional managers who find senior management's management style as classical scientific management (Emery and Giaque, 2003). Since professionals generally resent being managed by non-professional managers they have resisted in various ways including withdrawal and disengagement (Reinhardt, 2000; Doolin, 2001; Sehested, 2002; Thomas and Davies, 2005). This phenomenon has been described as engendering a 'vicious circle of professional disempowerment, disengagement and disenchantment' (Robinson, 1999; Reinhardt, 2000). This leads to reduction in professional

managers' involvement in their organisations, which does not augur well for the respective organisations.

2.13.9 *Personnel and HR practices*

The NPM reform agenda has enacted a context in which short-term contracts are gradually displacing the life-time career employment of public servants. Such short-term contracts are often devoid of relational contracts lacking the high trust relationship existing between professional bureaucrats and politicians (Christensen and Laegreid, 2002). Additionally, performance contracts are replacing the hitherto autonomous professional environment. Since NPM principle of hand-on professional management anticipates that chief executives will be management experts from the private sector (Yamamoto, 2003), it is difficult to categorise such chief executives as true public servants, it is equally uncertain whether and the extent to which such *hybrid public managers* (Sehested, 2002) can transmit public sector values without being caught in the web of self-interest behaviour. This could pose serious challenges to the relationships between senior managers and professionals as it is already eroding the commitment and loyalty of public servants, and professionals while the concept of the public servant has been well negotiated.

2. 14 Why NPM reforms have failed to perform well

The review so far suggests little evidence that NPM reforms have performed excellently as the architects would have us believe. Several reasons have been identified for this.

Firstly, the efficacy argument maintains that some form of competition in public service delivery is necessary (Hood, 1991), thus implementation of NPM reforms necessarily

introduces quasi-market relationships to the public sector. Following from this is the need to integrate private organisations in the provision of public services through arrangements such as outsourcing. One such concern has been how outsourcing of public health services, for instance, intended to result in efficiency has introduced competition, which tends to produce winning and losing public organisations depending on their level of resource endowment (Collins and Green, 1999). Such competition, analysts argue, tends to downgrade ethical/equity considerations central to traditional public administration (Collins and Green, 1999). Moreover public sector competition has been perceived as hardly genuine (McPake and Ngalande Banda, 1995) and blamed for creating private monopolies or cartels (service providers) rather than competitors in a technical sense, and described as at best politically-controlled, (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999).

Second, some analysts argue most public organisations lack the expertise for contract administration introduced by such quasi-market relationships under NPM. Contract administration is a particularly challenging area described as a domain prone to corruption in both developed OECD countries (Greenaway, 1995) and, LDCs (Polidano, 1999; Awortwi, 2002) but more profound in LDCs-I return to these challenges, including the issue of corruption later in this chapter. This has tended to undermine the efficiency, effectiveness and economy objectives that have driven most public sector outsourcing initiatives.

Third, outsourcing as NPM strategy has been highly politicized, having received considerable political impetus. Indeed, so tremendously has the economic argument been wrapped up in the political that it has been practically difficult to decouple the ideological component from the economic component of the public sector efficiency argument

employed in support of outsourcing, not least in the UK (Reilly and Tamkin, 1996). For instance in the private sector, there is no doubt that outsourcing helps save cost (Jennings, 2002; Fill and Visser, 2000), and improves quality (Lonsdale and Cox, 2000; Jennings, 2002). However, in the context of the public sector, it is difficult to sustain any such cost-saving argument to a high degree not least as outsourcing was generally perceived to be given impetus by political ideological persuasions and argumentations, and sustained by a series of legislation (Whitfield, 2001)

Fourth, the disproportionate emphasis on cost and output in agreement with broad NPM framework undermines traditional public administration's definition of efficiency, which incorporates outcomes of public policies for citizens (Hood, 1991). This has led to clashes between individual and organisational objectives (Caron and Giaque, 2006; Emery and Giaque, 2003). For instance, when one public sector organisation saves cost at the expense of another, such clear institutional saving is difficult to describe as public savings; it might in fact be a public loss depending on the magnitude of such saving. Thus there has been a growing concern that under NPM the pursuit of public service values continues to be subsumed in the efficacy argument. This is evident in the tendency to over-contractualize relations between citizens and the state and replace an egalitarian political administrative culture with an elitist culture (Whitfield, 2001; Laegreid, 2002), a process achieved through the corporatisation of public organisations (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999) core NPM.

Fifth, there are analysts who have expressed fears about the increased weakening of political leadership and political loyalty as well as reduced civil service and diminishing professional expertise and autonomy that originally typified public service provision. For

instance, the devolution of power to contract managers it has been argued, is leading to increased loss of political control over public activities (Christensen and Lægreid, 1999; 2002), which might in fact never be regained (Collins and Green, 1999), but might indeed undermine core NPM reform objectives. Additionally, concerns have been raised that the long term transfer of certain public services to private firms and other related agreements such as private finance initiatives (PFIs), public-private partnerships (PPPs), and franchises might ultimately result in achieving private 'corporate welfare' at the cost of public welfare (Whitfield, 2001). As an illustration, the outsourcing of both policy formulation to consultants and policy implementation and service delivery to external private organisations could contribute to further loss of political control, leaving us with the central question 'whose policies controls the state, and who is responsible for implementing such policies?'.

Sixth, NPM and its strategic [private sector] practices are generally understood as fundamentally cost-cutting initiatives (Dixon et al, 1998; Christensen and Lægreid, 1999) and imply disproportionate emphasis on costs and economic efficiency, calling for increased devolved power for top managers who tend to determine middle managers' task and specific ways of performing them, resulting often in reduction in the latter's autonomy and discretion. Different interpretations have been given to such developments, which are reshaping relations between senior managers and professional managers in various ways. Although these initiatives obviously aim at enhancing public organisations' capacity to improve performance, cut cost, and lower prices and thus ensure value for public money, they are also introducing a complex set of issues and challenges to middle management, many of them professionals. For instance, corporatization often requires an increase in the power of senior managers and the reduction in that of middle managers on the premise that this ensures senior managers' ability to get things done more effectively. Paradoxically,

this has often not enhanced senior managers' capacity to get things done (Smith and Walshe, 2004), suggesting that corporatisation might lead to a weakening of public organisations' ability to perform their roles effectively, which might be both a cause and consequence of increased use of private expertise and consultants (Chrsitensen and Laegreid, 1999).

Finally, there is potential that the transfer of what were seen as traditionally core government responsibilities to private organisations would serve as opportunities for governments to shirk their responsibilities (Yamamoto, 2003). Under such circumstances, it becomes difficult to hold a government department responsible for poor services in an area which has been outsourced to private firms. A related issue is that the language in which the corporatization agenda underpinning NPM reforms has been couched and pursued is that of organisational empowerment. There have however been concerns that, under NPM, the very language of empowerment has become a management tool for controlling (Broadbent and Laughlin, 2002), and thus undermine professional control or autonomy in delivering public services. This has been found to be demoralising and alienating especially for professional middle managers (Robert, 1996; Townley, 1996; Broadbent et al, 1999). The cost of managerial authority, by implication then is a decline in professional discretion, one of the central issues identified in this thesis.

2. 15 Why reforms fail in developing countries

Fundamentally, most developing countries lack robust, effective public service systems with strong bureaucratic structures supporting effective service delivery. It is this which principally accounts for the general inefficiency in public service delivery in these countries.

Some analysts (see Polidano, 1999; Awortwi, 2002) have argued the problem is not the absence of bureaucratic structures but the lack of effective systems of law enforcement. This further engenders the development, along the formal system, of the informal system, tending to paralyse any gains realised in the formal system. In a bid to tackle these efficiency-related challenges, politicians, reformers and international donors have vigorously embraced and pursued NPM reforms, viewing these as effective panaceas.

However, from the perspectives of many analysts (Hensel, 1998; Polidano, 1999; Condrey et al, 2001; Hope, 2002; Hope and Chikulo, 2001) NPM reforms have been generally unsuccessful in LDCs, due to a wide range of prevailing conditions in those countries. Multi-faceted and numerous, such challenges include: deteriorating macroeconomic conditions such as high rates of inflation, unemployment combined with low productivity (Condrey et al, 2001); poorly developed bureaucratic structures in the public sector and the absence of public service ethics (Hood, 1991; Polidano, 1999); widespread public corruption, nepotism and abuse of public office (Dibie, 2004; Haruna, 2004; Egbue, 2006); political instability (Hensel, 1998); weak information systems and management (Polidano, 1999: 9); and bad work cultures (Assimeng, 1996; Danso, 2007). Arguably, the pervasiveness of corruption and the absence of civil service culture or ethics could be understood as the most crucial causes of NPM failures in LDCs.

But there are also definite fundamental reasons NPM reforms fail in LDCs, especially African countries. First, there is lack of true democracy combined with an absence of or distorted model of citizens (Mandani, 1996; Olowu, 2002). In OECD nations, democracy took several years to be ingrained in their socio-cultural fabric. As Olowu (2002) has observed, in Weber's view, the working of true democracy is fundamental to realising the

definitive form of bureaucracy. Inextricably linked with democratic culture is an evolved model of the citizen in which questioning democratic and bureaucratic leadership and authority as well as making demands on them become an inseparable part. In Africa and most other LDCs, citizens are unable to question and make demand on their leaders. What most African countries inherited from colonial regimes however, was but a form of oppressive administration oriented towards the welfare of the colonial masters and countries, which fell well short of true democracy. (For in those countries true features of democracy were apparently absent, so it was quite ironic that those same colonial countries turned round to criticise African countries for not practicing democracy, without considering whether the latter have experienced true democracy under colonialism in the first place). Even the concept of true citizenship was distorted in colonial regimes, where only a minority of privileged individuals enjoyed the rights of citizens, while the majority were used as a means to an end. The citizens in those states are those who cannot make demands on leaders; they see it as an obligation to satisfy the needs of leaders instead. The persistence of this sort of democratic culture even decades after political independence could be attributed to the fact that most successive African governments after independence perhaps simply reinforced, rather than challenge, revolutionise or change this status quo.

Second, in most LDCs, there is absence of the basics of old public administration, which provides the foundation for successful NPM reforms. For instances, the establishment of public administration values makes easy the introduction of elements of informal structures and practices inherent in NPM such as awarding of contracts, high trust-low cost relationships; devolution of managerial powers to managers, etc (Hood, 1991; Olowu, 2000). This absence of effective operation of bureaucracy, resulting from the absence of

democratic culture inhibits NPM success. It is thus suggested that African and LDCs need strong public bureaucracies as a prerequisite to NPM reforms (Polidano, 1999; Olowu, 2002). The relative success of the Asian Tiger countries with NPM reforms is a classic evidence of how strong bureaucratic structures can aid NPM reforms (Olowu, 1999; 2002).

In most African and developing countries, most, if not all of the conditions outlined above, combined with intense fiscal and institutional pressures in the mid 1970s have evolved malfunctioning public service systems, which fail to support the fast growing population (Hope, 2002). In response the international donors supported most governments financially, encouraging large-scale state interventions by strengthening state bureaucracies. However, by early 1980s the impotence of such an approach in sustaining the respective economies was becoming amply obvious (Caulfield, 2006), causing donors to make a sharp conceptual shift in perspective. In this new reform paradigm, the reformed State bureaucracies came to be viewed as impediments, and their expansion and continuous existence consequently discouraged (Caulfield, 2006). This called for a fresh approach to the problem of developing countries, which also provided a basis for introducing NPM reforms.

Against the above background, NPM reforms have sought to address two interrelated challenges: (i) the general weaknesses inherent in public organisations (public bureaucracies); and (ii) the specific challenges of LDCs identified above. In this sense NPM reforms in LDCs are attempts to address both systemic and organisational problems (Polidano (1999). In the first instance, developing nations' problems would be understood as inherently bureaucracy-related. From public choice and managerialist perspectives as discussed earlier in this chapter, public bureaucracy is criticised for restricting the power of

politicians and public managers from effectively managing the State organisations for results. It is in this view that corporatisation [which has been claimed to tackle the bureaucratic challenge and the agency problem] as an organisational form is emerging as one of the most appropriate and common manifestations of NPM reforms in LDC. 'In the following section I summarise the major challenges encountered in the implementation of NPM reforms in LDCs:

Incomplete implementation of NPM policy reforms: Most NPM reforms fail largely because reformers (principally politicians) resort to selective or incomplete implementation, whereby they hand pick aspects of reform they consider beneficial to their personal interests (Polidano, 1999), leaving out areas calling for greater commitment from them. Corporatisation, for instance, could occur not out of politicians' commitment to achieving greater efficiency or cost savings, but instead as a matter of convenience-a way of freeing a public function from the clutters of red-tape inherent in the civil service (see Polidano, 1999; Moynihan, 2006). For instance, due to the difficulty in recruiting and retaining qualified staff in the public sector as a result of low public sector wages (Cohen, 1995; Colclough, 1997; Condrey et al, 2001), the practice of hiring temporary staffs on as-and-when-needed basis becomes necessary, and this is made possible under corporatisation. NPM then becomes necessary as a way of tackling low-capacity in the public and civil service, in which case, as Polidano (1999) observed, 'corporatisation becomes less a means of improving efficiency and more a means of maintaining basic operational viability by making use of private sector expertise'. In this case, politicians skim through reform recipe, picking the ingredients they feel is more likely to meet their often parochial interest and leaving out aspects seemingly threatening and likely to challenge the status quo. For instance, since matching resources to objectives and devolving authority to public

managers to increase their managerial capacity and authority constitute requirements likely to curtail the power of politicians, these components are rarely incorporated in NPM reforms.

Corruption, cultural practices and the nature of the public sector: Public sector reforms take place in the public sector, and the role of politicians, civil servants, public organisations, and private enterprises becomes a crucial factor in this interface (Egbue, 2006). Available research suggests corruption sweeps across a substantial spectrum of the African public including politicians, civil and public servants, and private enterprise to which public work is often outsourced. The fact that public sector as the bureaucratic arm of the government is centrally located in the socio-economic arena of most developing African countries (Egbue, 2006) highlights the significance of the ramifications public sector activities have for the entire economy, including individuals and organisations involved in reforms. Since most public sector reforms in Africa occur within the public sector where corruption is described as pervasive, one can argue in support of the claim by McCourt (2001) that reforms in developing nations are implemented in the environment of corruption, and this tends to mask the true effects of policy reforms.

It must be noted though that for several reasons corruption is a rather complex and fluid phenomenon especially on the African continent. For instance, it has been claimed (Egbue, 2006) a number of African traditional cultural values and practices tend to incorporate or lend support to those practices which might be defined as corrupt. Similarly, analysts argue that there is, in LDCs, a loose system of rules and administrative procedures that leaves room for manipulation especially by politicians, coupled with flawed personnel systems lacking in responsibility, accountability and professionalism (Hansel, 1998). Thus the

administrative and bureaucratic setups of a number of LDCs require conscious streamlining in order to make NPM reforms more effective. The situation in Africa is not much different from what pertains elsewhere in the developing world. For instance Condrey et al (2001) remark that the Ukrainian public sector has an organizational and administrative culture and climate that readily accepts public corruption. In consequence NPM reforms in most LDCs as in Ukraine are targeted at building professional civil service structures and processes rather than reforming over-bureaucratized civil service systems as in OECD countries (Condrey et al, 2001).

Judging from the complexity of corruption in LDCs context, controlling corruption has been an enormous and often unsuccessful task in many African countries. In the first place, as Egbue (2006) has observed some radical social scientists might argue that so long as it leads to a redistribution of income especially if leads to taking resources away from the affluent ruling class to benefit the middle or lower class, corruption has a fairness interface. Second, where corruption occurs as a result of people paying their way through bribing in order to avoid the often long delays associated with inefficient bureaucracies, this could be described as a form of dynamic, rational action to the extent that this results in saving in time and in financial terms. The second point suggests the centralisation of procedures may not only fail to reduce corruption; it might actually sponsor or give occasion to that which might be defined essentially as corruption.

There are two important points to note about corruption and NPM in LDCs. On the one hand, since NPM takes public servants' trust for granted (Hood, 1991) and claims to allow public managers greater discretion in decision making, greatly unencumbered by long bureaucratic procedures, it could in fact, reinforce corruption. On the other, increasing

centralisation and reducing managers' discretion could, and have often led to administrative and bureaucratic inertia resulting in gross inefficiency (Polidano, 1999; Hope and Chikulo, 2001). All these negatively impact NPM reform outcomes in developing countries.

Frequent political interference: Political interference represents one of the major causes of reform failures (Polidano, 1999) in most developing countries, and Africa, especially, bringing us back to the important role of traditional PA which emphasizes low trust in politicians (Hood (1995) and insists on strict distinction between the public and the private. Moreover, the increased power advocated for politicians under NPM is often abused and the absence or inability of anti-corruption commissions to handle corruption charges against public servants tends to reinforce political interference (Aryetey, 1998). Due to all this, rather than giving greater power to politicians, NPM reforms in LDCs might in fact need to take more power from them, placing it in the hands of bureaucrats. This means reform objectives in LDCs might in fact be to intensify bureaucratic procedures so as to curb the executive power of politicians and restrict the administrative power of public managers, and might represent the opposite of NPM reforms in developed countries

Lack of capacity: According to a number of analysts (Polidano, McCourt, 2001; Condrey et al, 2001), lack of adequate human capacity, which makes NPM reform implementation difficult constitutes one of the major challenges and causes of NPM failures in LDCs. This is because in corporatised organisations, for instance, there is requirement for greater degree of autonomy, managerially and technically, but this is often lacking. The major cause of this is the wide pay gap between public and private sector employees (Polidano, 1999). One solution is hiring consultants if often at high cost. But there is a great deal of dilemma with respect to hiring consultants. On the one hand, the hiring of consultants might resolve

the capacity problem but lead to increased costs, which might defeat the reform objective of attaining economic efficiency through frugality, shrewdness and parsimony in public resource use. More payment to consultants, for instance also implies less money available for actual service provision, considering that inadequate funding is an endemic problem in many developing countries. On the other hand, whereas spending less on consultants might cut costs in a sense, this might be achieved at the sacrifice of the very operational viability of the public institution as Polidano (1999) had earlier noted. Polidano pointed out such capacity inadequacies often result from poor remuneration in the public sector and concluded that much NBPM reform in Africa is nothing more than capacity building. The foregoing discussion notwithstanding, there are isolated cases of NPM success described as 'island of excellence' (Polidano, 1999), which presents a basis for arguing NPM could work in some developing countries under certain circumstances.

2.16 Conclusion

Debates about NPM have focused more on the political and ideological aspects as well as the implications of NPM for public services and citizens, and less on its substance and theoretical underpinning. In fact it is a popular view among most academics that NPM lacks a coherent theory and qualifies only as a set of doctrines. Consequently it is becoming fashionable for analysts to steer clear of definitional issues and it is unbelievable that in my entire literature search and review, I have hardly come across a concise definition of NPM. Rather than focusing on the ideological debates, I attempted to address theoretical issues, provided a working definition of NPM and attempted to link current management and organisational practices (corporatisation and outsourcing) to NPM as a concept. In addition I have identified and discussed from the relevant literature, theoretical distortions

within the NPM framework, which analysts believe could make its implementation challenging. It is clear that public choice and managerialism (the main theoretical bases of NPM) are viewed as promoting values which are inherently conflicting, antithetical and contradictory, and it is this, which constitutes the major criticism against NPM. Problems arise between politicians and public managers when it comes to drawing proper lines of authority, accountability and control in managing public sector organisations. The increased use of corporatisation, meant to deal with the agency problem, was found to have done little to resolve the agency problem; it has instead degenerated into an increased use of private service providing firms for actual service provision, gradually crowding out public departments from the actual provision of services, and pushing them into close nucleuses where they are left only with the management and supervision of public services (Exworthy and Halford, 1999).

NPM is an entire system of ideas relating to practices within public organisations especially with respect to how service provision is managed and the nature of organisational arrangements and structured required for succeeding in this effort. One such arrangement-corporatisation and a strategy for delivering public services-outsourcing, are discussed in detail as the commonest manifestation of NPM in the African context. The outcomes of corporatisation and outsourcing of public services and the implications for the role of senior managers and their relationships with professional middle managers have been well examined, with the conclusion that managerial authority is being increasingly privileged on professional autonomy on grounds of economic efficiency. A widely obvious fact however is that the anticipated economic efficiency is hardly realised. Moreover, when applied to developing countries, NPM reforms become even more complex due to a range of pervasive systemic problems including corruption, which tend to deliver contradictory

outcomes. For instance as a result of corruption, politicians tend paradoxically to centralise power rather than devolve power to managers in contradiction of the NPM prescription. Where managerial devolution has occurred this seldom moves beyond senior management level. Even in corporatised organisations for fear of corruption there has been enormous tendency for senior managers to turn to increased centralisation [although this tends to defeat NPM reform objectives]. Such intervening variables tend to complicate and compound NPM outcomes in LDCs, suggesting that new perspectives that take these range of challenges into account be developed in both implementing and assessing the true outcomes of NPM reforms in these countries.

This study aims to investigate ways that relationships between senior managers and professional middle managers are being shaped, negotiated and reshaped under NPM, and ways that the professional managers manage these changing relationships. Specifically, it seeks to understand how the shaping, and reshaping of such relationships occurs when NPM reforms are implemented in a developing country context such as Ghana. In the next chapter, I discuss various ways that professionalism and professionals' work is being shaped and reshaped under NPM and the new forms of co-operation, co-options, and collaboration which are flowing from managerial-professional relationships.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW II

Management and Professional Relationships in the Context of New Managerialism

3.0 Introduction

This research is about managerial-professional relationships under NPM in corporatised health organisations in Ghana. Available research suggests that the conflicts and dilemmas generated by the need to harmonise increased management devolution and authority on the one hand, and increased professional autonomy on the other, constitute some of the emerging issues in managerial-professional relationships. Indeed, the resurgence of new managerialism in the public sector in recent times has resulted in the redefinition of the ideal public (senior) manager in terms of qualifications but more importantly attitudes and personal characteristics required of people aspiring to public management positions. There has also been widening distinctions between senior and middle managers in terms of roles, expectations and qualifications (Clarke et al, 2000). Moreover, recent developments in the public sector across the globe have given rise to greater need for senior managers and professionals to work together. Within that context one potential difficulty introduced is that senior managers especially in professional organisations (though by virtue of their training and qualification many of them are professionals yet are not necessarily practicing professionals) tend to be driven by objectives fundamentally in tension with those by which professionals tend to be driven.

Research and debates on managers and professionals suggest their relationships and interactions follow various trajectories, characterised by antagonism and conflicts on the

one hand, and collaboration and compromise on the other (Exworthy and Halford, 1999). Managers, by their function are propelled by the ideals of managerialism, paying attention to costs, organisational targets, tangible organisational performance, while professionals are fundamentally driven by professional values and ideals (This is notwithstanding the fact that there are still unresolved debates about what professional values are, and whose interest they are meant to protect-Hutton and Massey, 2006). Under current public sector reforms managerialism has been described as essentially a dominant ideology to which other values have been subordinated. Indeed, some analysts have argued that an implicit agenda for managers under managerialism is to dismantle the power and autonomy that professionals once exercised over the provision of public services (Clarke et al, 1994a; Clarke et al (2000). For a clearer grasp of the issues I would be discussing, it is important to take a brief look at the subjects of professions, professionals, professionalism and professional autonomy, to be followed by a discussion of what managers, managerialism and managerial authority constitute especially in the era of NPM.

3.1 Professions, professionals and professionalism: definitional issues and features

The subjects of profession, professionals and professionalism have attracted a plethora of literature from different disciplines including (principally) industrial sociology. Major themes include what distinguishes a group of persons as professionals from another or what features distinguish one work as a profession from the other; why professionals demand autonomy and the basis for justifying this demand. Others equally important themes include why professional expertise is developed; how it is deployed; by whom it is deployed and for what ends it is deployed (Exworthy and Halford, 1999; Sullivan, 2000). Indeed perspectives on what a profession constitutes vary a great deal; nonetheless, a

common formulation is that a profession is defined in relation to the nature of tasks involved, knowledge required; and the level of difficulty in measuring the related activities and outputs, and in defining the processes involved (Broadbent and Laughlin, 2002). Traditionally professionalism has come to apply to knowledge-based activities requiring long periods of education and training and entailing service meant for the common good. Professions are thus generally identified as altruistic, believed to be value-laden, and professionals as value-driven (Cruess et al, 2000). According to Kornhauser (1963) the basic function of a profession is to maintain standards of excellence against the pressures for immediate and easy solution, and this is achieved through developing expertise, commitment, responsibility and autonomy for those practicing it.

There is, from the foregoing, a task-base as well as knowledge-base notion of professions and professionalism. Taking this further, Jamous and Peloile (1970) differentiated the technical elements of tasks from that which remains indeterminate. Some authors have taken a more critical view by arguing that the whole notion of professionalism rests on the ability of a group to retain monopoly over the area of competence that is attributed to them (Larson, 1977). In this view the notion of professionalism is related to the control of access to a given knowledge and occupation (Johnson, 1972) with the view to maximising the accompanying economic benefits and social prestige. Professionals' power thus in a sense stems from their expert knowledge, which Crozier (1964: 160-5) argued constitutes a sort of power [expert power] (I return to this later in this chapter). This implies there are economic and ideological bases for professions and professionalism.

3.2 Debates about professionalism and professionalisation

For centuries, the work of professionals has been understood to require discretion over a range of issues that fall under their domain of authority, and although a professional is not required to ignore material considerations, they are expected to subordinate financial gain to higher values of responsibility to clients and to the public (Sullivan, 2000). Therefore the belief that the professions will place societal welfare above that of the profession and its members had formed the basis of the society's contract with professions (Cruess et al, 2000). Moreover, society's trust in professions is linked to its perception of how the profession meets its societal obligations. In this sense if the public has a cause to believe a profession is failing in its duties, professional status and autonomy may be withdrawn or modified (Cruess et al, 2000).

On the basis of their access to privileged knowledge, professionals tend to demand autonomy over the practice of their profession. This claim to expert knowledge, which constitutes the source of professionals' [expert] power (Crozier, 1964) also identifies the interrelated dimensions of political, cognitive, organisational and technical power that define and legitimate their position within traditional and modern societies (Reed, 1996). Thus if it is to provide a reasonably stable cognitive and social base for the institutionalisation of expert power (Larson, 1990) and remain a specialised preserve of a particular expert group (Abbott, 1988) the expertise of experts must be storable, controllable, indeterminable (Boreham, 1983) and protectable (Reed, 1996). Problems that require the application of such specialised knowledge for their solution are constructed, through political strategies and tactics, as the jurisdictional domains of experts, and are policed and supported by ideological resources and moral prohibitions that *legitimate*

monopoly control for one group by *de-legitimizing predatory incursions* by another (Crompton, 1990). This sort of argumentation exposes the apparent ideological and economic bases of professions, and introduces serious ethical and moral questions relating to the extent to which professionals can be treated as those who strictly seek to protect the public interest. This has increased the need for a greater insight from the public into what professionals do in order to forestall likely rent-seeking behaviours from professionals who could easily harness the public trust to their personal advantage. However, this restriction on professionals' autonomy in itself constitutes a serious source of challenge to the professionals and a dilemma to the public for two apparent reasons. On the one hand, it protects and guards the public against selfish professionals desiring to profiteer at the expense of the public; on the other, professionals who have genuine commitment to protecting the public interest would tend to lose their autonomy which they require to operate effectively.

The role of professionals as well as the extent to which they can be autonomous has become ever more circumscribed under the NPM. On the one hand, increasing fiscal imbalances especially in the 1980s has called for the need to increase the regulatory and monitoring capacities of the State over how public money is expended, and the subsequent subordination of the work of professionals under these regulatory mechanisms. On the other hand, it has meant that public managers be empowered to play their roles effectively. From this flows a further question: to what extent should professionals' work be regulated by managers?

3.3 Questioning the claim of professional autonomy

The recent increase in State regulatory mechanism has meant that this category of expert groups (professionals), as Reed (1996) observed, were now faced with a 'new battery of control instruments and practices that strove to commodify, regulate, and rationalise their claim to specialised knowledge and exercise of esoteric skills in such a way that their position within corporate, occupational and class power structures would be seriously undermined'. This represents a form of power struggle targeted at dominating the power of professionals, which the quote below taken from Crozier's analysis of the dynamics of expert power and control within modern organisations clearly exemplifies:

As long as the requirement of action creates situations of uncertainty, the individuals who have to face them have power over those who are affected by the results of their choice...Two types of power will develop... First, will evolve the power of the expert... Second, there will emerge the power necessary to check the power of the expert. Thus the expert's success is constantly self-defining. The rationalisation process gives him [them] power but the rationalisation curtails this power ultimately... (Crozier, 1964: 60)

Relating this to State professionals, although the State's role of rationalising the work of professionals has placed them at an advantage, this rationalisation has triggered the emergence of an external power that intrudes the practice of professions. Thus the position of professionals is a self-contradictory one; as they seek to exercise control over society by virtue of their esoteric knowledge, society, through various means of instrumentation, attempts to take back part of the control that professionals do exercise.

This self-defining feature of the rationalisation of professions underpins the two perspectives that analysts have held about professions and professionals (Le Bianic, 2003).

The first views professionals' role as reproducing and preserving the capitalist social order, suggesting that professionals enable the state to preserve the capitalist system. Larson's (1977) work may be viewed as an explanation of the material basis for professionalism, since it described professionalism as an institution within modern capitalist society, and professionals' call for autonomy as self-seeking activity to secure status, resources, power and economic reward. By arguing that professionalism is the transformation of one form of scarce resources (specialised knowledge) into another (economic reward), Larson has recast professionalism as an institution that helps maintain the capitalist society. The second relates to debates by authors such as Braverman (1974), and Derber (1982), who defend the thesis of the 'proletarianisation of professionals' and commodification of intellectual work, both occurring in the course of the development of capitalism. This school conceives of professions and professionalism as an institution in the development of modern capitalist societies by maintaining that like other forms of labour, professionals are subject to the control of capital. From the foregoing discussions, what a profession is remains a subject of considerable complexity, and professional autonomy has assumed greater ambiguity under NPM. Within the context of that complexity, it is important to briefly examine the concept of autonomy in order to situate the subject of professional autonomy. I now turn to a discussion on the dimensions of autonomy below.

3.4 Dimensions of autonomy

Worker autonomy as a sociological construct has received much attention from sociologists and psychologists, with models designed to measure such things as degree and scope of autonomy. Major pioneering works in this area include Turner and Lawrence's (1965); Hackman and Oldham (1975); Sims et al (1976); Karasek (1979); and Bailyn (1985). All

except Bailyn (1985) defined and conceived of autonomy as occurring at general rather than, different levels. For instance Hackman and Oldham's (1975) Job Diagnostic Survey, and Sims et al's (1976) Job Characteristic Inventory both measured global, not facets of, autonomy (Breugh, 1999). As a result Bailyn (1985) called for a rethink of autonomy in more differentiated ways. Following Bailyn, Breugh (1985; 1989) constructed a model of autonomy scale that attempted measuring different areas and levels of autonomy. Bailyn's model conceptualised autonomy as a multidimensional construct (see Nicholson, 1984). Relatively recently, researchers have emphasised the importance of measuring three broadly defined facets of autonomy with regards to: work methods, work scheduling, and work criteria (Breugh, 1999). Among the three facets, work methods autonomy and work scheduling autonomy have received the greatest attention from academics although all except few analysts including Breugh (1985; 1989) and Jackson et al (1993) made painstaking attempts at distinguishing between work methods and work scheduling autonomy (Breugh, 1999).

Breugh's (1985) work attempted to validly measure autonomy with respect to:

1. work method (i.e. the degree of discretion/choice individuals have regarding the procedures/methods they utilize in going about their work);
2. work scheduling (i.e. the extent to which workers feel they can control the scheduling/sequencing/timing of their work activities); and
3. work criteria (i.e. the degree to which workers have the ability to modify or choose the criteria used for evaluating their performance).

These measures of facets of autonomy seem to be based on lower level employees rather than middle managers. It thus does appear that the first and third (work method and criteria autonomy) might apply to professional middle managers while the second might be less appropriate. There also appears to be, in addition to these two, negotiation of autonomy/discretion over access to resources (human and non-human) and standards. It is thus important that any analysis of professional autonomy addresses the dimensions of autonomy. I have observed above that the power of professionals especially in the public sector is being increasingly curtailed in line with increased regulation of the use of public money. This growing constraint on the power of professionals can be explained by reference to the recent surge in what is referred to as public sector managerialism, which I briefly discuss in the section that follows.

3.5 Managerialism and Public Sector (new) Managerialism

Public sector managerialism is the belief that the ills of public sector organisations can be effectively addressed by following the prescriptions of managerialism. It is the private sector “solution” to the public sector “problem” (Dixon et al, 1998), and ‘the pursuit of results-oriented government management that combines greater autonomy and greater responsibility for the programme manager’ (Uhr, 1990). New managerialism then can be understood as attempts to get the public sector to embrace the ‘enterprise culture’ (Du Gay 2000, Exworthy and Halford, 1999), which represents a significant shift in public management paradigm over the past two to three decades. It means ‘the right of public managers to manage’ public organisations with greater devolution (Aucoin, 1990). According to Pollitt (1990) the concept of new managerialism encapsulates a set of beliefs and practices at the core of which lay the seldom-tested assumption that better

management will prove as an effective solvent for a wide range of economic and social ills confronting the public sector.

Public sector managerialism agenda has also a political underpinning as Pollitt (1990: 49) noted:

Better management provides a label under which private sector disciplines can be introduced to the public services, political control can be strengthened, budgets trimmed, professional autonomy reduced, public service unions weakened and a quasi-competitive framework erected to flush out the natural inefficiencies of bureaucracy

It can be concluded from the above that while many and wide-ranging, core components of new managerialism include: transposing private sector ideas to the public sector; strengthening political control through contractual public management; and ensuring frugality in public budgetary allocations. Others include reducing the influence and control of professionals and unions; increasing managerial control over public services; and marketising the relationships between the providers and users of hugely bureaucratised, inefficient public services.

In a broad NPM framework, and in the context of new managerialism, managers' role becomes crucial and effectiveness becomes extremely important as a prerequisite for attaining predetermined performance targets, often exogenously set by politicians, and fed back into performance agreement contracts with senior public managers appointed on contracts. Public sector managerialism then views senior managers with increased devolution as a vehicle to attaining set goals and performance targets in the public sector.

3.6 Managerialism and managerial devolution/authority

Managerialism and managerial devolution have similar connotations; both demand increased authority to managers to manage with free hands. Early critical NPM texts (Aucoin, 1990; Hood, 1991; 1995) argued that by combining managerialism and public choice NPM potentially unleashes conflicts between public managers and politicians because it apparently establishes zero-sum relationship between them. However, with the surge in corporatisation the level of direct political involvement in public service provision seemed to have diminished substantially (McLaughlin et al, 2002). With this, the direct control of public organisations now comes to reside in contract-based senior managers, empowered to operate with a considerable degree of freedom.

It is under these senior managers that professional middle managers now have to work. Hence, the hitherto politicians-management relationships now seem to be collapsing into senior-middle management relationships. Essentially, as research on NPM reforms and professional middle managers has demonstrated from the previous chapter, this [senior] managers' 'freedom to manage' has often come at the cost of reduced autonomy for professional middle managers, and this has tended to generate substantial conflicts between the two levels of management. What is happening can be described best as 'transfer of control' from politicians to senior managers and this is having considerable implications for managerial and professional relationships. The exercise of managerial authority tends to restrict professional autonomy. Here lies one of the greatest paradoxes of NPM: for senior managers to be effective they require increased devolution, but greater exercise of this devolution has tended to limit the extent of middle managers' (professionals') autonomy and discretion. Considered from this perspective, managerial-professional relationships

have been described as inherently antagonistic. As Causer and Exworthy (1999) and Exworthy and Halford (1999) observed, the thesis that managers and professionals stand in necessarily antagonistic relationships has been a recurrent one in the sociological literature. For instance circumstances under which senior public managers are appointed (short term performance contracts with less security of tenure-Yamamoto, 2003) suggest that their ability to operate with free hands could be greatly restricted to and circumscribed by predetermined politicians' agenda. As such senior managers could have a number of conflicts associated with their roles as they struggle to establish specific modes of behaviour that make them acceptable to politicians as well as subordinate professional managers.

3.7 Conflictual and antagonistic relationships

Different themes have emerged from the discussion of managers and professionals but two are explicitly distinguishable. The first, if rather oversimplified formulation, conceives of managers and professionals as separate categories performing separate roles, and whose relationship is necessarily characterised by conflicts. This viewpoint, which also partly holds that managerialism has prevailed over professionalism is succinctly summarised in Clarke et al (2000: 9):

Managerialism, like professionalism, defines a set of expectations, values and beliefs; it's a normative system concerning what counts as valuable knowledge, who knows it and who is empowered to act in ways as a consequence...A central issue in the managerisation of public services has been the concerted effort to displace or subordinate the claims of professionalism. It can no longer be assumed that professionals know best; rather, we are

invited to accept that managers do the right thing....Within organisations managerialisation has tended to subordinate other forms of power, and knowledge to managerial authority.

This quote suggests that the philosophy of public service organisations has been largely influenced by the ideals of managerialism. The effect of this dominant tendency, according to Clarke and Newman (1995) has been '*a range of resistances, adaptations and co-options, particularly around strong centres of professionalism*'. Resistance is always preceded by control, real or imagined of various forms. In that sense resistance from professionals may be clearly founded, as Exworthy and Halford (1999) explanation of professionals' fears and concerns demonstrates. Such professional fear might be explained from three angles according to (Exworthy and Halford, 1999). First, some professionals might have personal fears or doubts about the fate of their professions under managerialism, e.g., being sidelined into practitioner niches where they are restricted in their practice (see also Crompton and Sanderson, 1990; Causer and Exworthy, 1999). Second, some professionals might have uncertainties about their ability to perform in the entrepreneurial culture (Scase and Goffee, 1989). Finally, some professionals might be sceptical about the efficacy of new structures imported from private sector and their capacity to deliver public services efficiently (Newman and Clarke, 1994).

The reality of this conflict perspective is that it is nothing new per se as professionals and managers have always been in negotiation with one another in the history of public administrative thought, hence the era of NPM could be conceptualised as simply another round or epoch in this process of negotiation and accommodation. However, responses from professionals to this conflictual situation have taken various forms, embedded in modes of resistance by individuals and groups to control instruments, be it between

managers and workers or between the ranks of managers or even between supervisors and their subordinates as the literature on industrial sociology demonstrates. Collinson's (1994) analysis of workplace resistance provides an excellent framework for understanding these issues. Collinson argued that resistance and consent are inextricably and simultaneously linked, often in contradictory ways within particular organisational *culture, discourses and practices*, observing that resistance frequently contains elements of consent, and consent often incorporates aspects of resistance. As analysts such as Burawoy, (1979) have argued, workers are capable of devising their own subtle, indirect and non-confrontational engagement strategies as means of resisting management to their own advantage. A classic example is *making out*-a strategy related by Burawoy (1979) by which machine operators in a shop floor succeeded in manipulating and reducing the pace of the machine as a way of intelligently holding back their labour.

Traditionally, critical scholars have emphasised control or domination at the expense of resistance (Ascraft and Mumby, 2004; Carlone and Larson, 2006). But this emphasis on domination often masks the agency of humans with respect to their experience of contemporary life, and tends to inhibit responses that might help fight domination. Control or domination has for long been understood as achievable through consent, suggesting that whenever people give their consent they are necessarily submitting themselves to be controlled and dominated (Carlone and Larson, 2006). However, recent analyses of consent (Collinson, 1994; 1999; 2003) have suggested consent could and has been employed as a powerful and effective tool in resisting managerial control. This suggests that to maintain that when people give their consent they are necessarily subordinating themselves to be controlled would be too simplistic a formulation in control/resistance analysis. In this respect, 'the widely accepted conception of hegemony as ideological

domination achieved through consent, as Mumby (1997) had earlier on argued, should rather be understood, as Collinson (2003) suggests, as 'a dialectic between control and resistance'. This is supported by Mumby (2000) and Carlone and Larson (2006) argument that attempts to control may simultaneously represent opportunities for resistance. For instance, Rosenthal (2004) found how control mechanisms deployed by management were harnessed by employees and used to their advantage in a call centre, while Lankshear (2001) reported on how call centre staff welcomed [as an evidence to avoid being victimised by management] rather than resisted the taping of customer calls deployed to increase managerial control.

But whether or not and the extent to which those perceiving control resist directly or do so through consent would depends largely on what the subjects think of themselves; in other words, the concept of the self is crucial to how we respond to the natural and social environment. This relates to the question of identity in the sense that our mode of reaction to stimuli depends principally on our perception of our true selves but our perception of our true selves can change, producing varying and shifting identities. Applying this framework Collinson (2003) identified three different selves that emerged as workers, trying to react to managerial control, recast themselves in various ways and into various categories. These are the *resistant selves*, the *conformist selves*, and the *dramaturgical selves*. Employing a Foucauldian perspective, Collinson (2003) draws attention to the inherent capacity of organisational systems to enact a complex process of production and reproduction of 'disciplined or conformist selves', in which self-disciplining modes often tend to split individual selves between 'competing and conflicting ends'. In this sense, by ascribing primary significance to life outside work, employees can begin to divide their identity between the *instrumental and indifferent me* at work; and the *real me* outside of work.

Dramaturgical selves, Collinson asserts, emerge as self-conscious individuals in surveillance organisations become increasingly skilled manipulators of self, reputation and image in the eyes of others. In other words, they become actors trying to *act out the ideal personality* dictated by powerful organisational discourses, their true selves remaining significantly intact. Dramaturgical selves also tend to manipulate data to please management (Collinson, 1999). Noon and Blyton (1997) demonstrate how even in tightly monitored [surveillance] organisations employees can still find creative responses such as making out, fiddling, joking, sabotage and escaping. Resistant selves, according to Collinson (2003; 2005) constitute a primary means by which employees express their discontent about workplace processes, and may help subordinates in surviving organisational regimes of tight control and commodification. By engaging in resistance then employees construct an alternative, more positive sense of self, to that provided, prescribed or circumscribed by the organisation (Goffman, 1968). As recent studies suggest such resistance strategies have become even more diverse, shifting, and multiple in their character, and frequently covert, and subterranean (Knights and McCabe, 2000). According to Collinson (2003) such strategies are more subtle and include indifference, cynicism and foot-dragging; whistle-blowing, and irony and satire.

In spite of the differences in the organisational environment where Collinson's and Noon and Blyton's studies were based (manual workers) and the organisational environment in which professionals work, there could be parallels in their modes of resistance to perceived or real control. It is my intension to research how far Collinson's categories for understanding manual workers might apply to public sector professionals in the context of the new forms of control they experience under NPM. Another important theory, *the weapons of the weak* (Scott, 1985), which examines from a micro-perspective, the mundane

activities of a dispossessed, marginalised class, provides an insight into the nature of resistance. Scott's studies were conducted in a developing country context, and could help in enlightening us on the subject of resistance among the weak, less powerful class in a developing country context, and to this I now turn.

3.8 NPM, professionals and professional resistance in developing countries

As long as professionals operate in organisations where scarcity of resources exists, there is bound to be conflicts between them and management, as structural arrangements are fundamentally an attempt to harmonise rational use of resources for the sake of efficiency, and uncontrolled use of resources for the sake of professional autonomy. This situation is unavoidable irrespective of level of development in the economy. However, the intensity of this conflict is rendered higher in LDCs where an even stronger pressure on scarce economic resources compels managers to employ much stricter controls on resource use. This is likely to heighten the conflicts between managers and professionals in developing countries. Well academically documented reports on professionals and professionalism, particularly in the way professionals respond to the new public management model in developing countries is relatively scarce. However, given the greater pressure on economic resources in these countries, compared to developed countries, one can argue that professionals in these economies are more likely to feel the pressures of managerial control than their counterparts in OECD nations. In the next section, I review an influential academically documented account of resistance in a developing country context: James Scott's 'weapons of the weak' (WOTW) thesis, which focuses on peasants' resistance in Malaysia. In spite of the contrast in the context of Scott's study (in a peasant rice context), compared to professional context, the WOTW thesis has relevance for understanding the

complex, sometimes ambivalent nature of resistance by a management category that feels dispossessed especially in a developing country context, and therefore, germane to our analysis.

3.8.1 *The weapons of the weak (WOTW)*

The WOTW theory was propounded by Scott (1985) whose study focuses on the polemics of peasant resistance. Drawing the distinctions and relationships between ‘public action’ and ‘cognitive objective’ of a seemingly marginalised, oppressed, class, Scott showed how apparently suppressed, marginalised groups respond to attempts at controlling them. Scott examined, from a micro-perspective, the symptoms of the gestation of peasant resistance, and by his thesis, attempted to fill the gap left by macro approaches of Marxist analysts. This he accomplished by showing how class consciousness and conflict are actually generated, and how they are perceived by the actors themselves (Nagata, 1987). Unlike Marxists, Scott does not consider revolution, which results in the overthrow of the dominant class, to be inevitable or even predictable in the context of his studied category. He argues that the reason for avoiding revolution is obvious: to protect the moral economy, which continues to exercise a moderating influence in the face of economic reality.

The fact that the resistance of this peasant group occurred in a context where they were confronted by an unending dilemma in a burgeoning agricultural economy could offer an explanation for their chosen mode of resistance in which public compliance was preferred to recalcitrance. On the one hand, the necessity of ensuring their own economic security has imposed the demand to confront the injustices of economic inequality resulting from

the prospering mechanised agricultural production. The 'economic cleavage, argues Nagata (1987), 'is reinforced by the larger landowners' control of new technology and manipulation of political benefits, which results in a reduction of a benign tenancy patronage, and traditional gleaning rights of the poor'. On the other, the peasants were compelled by the demands of a moral economy, which forbids confrontation and violence, as a way of maintaining, rather than revolutionising or overturning the status quo, to restrict their resistance activities to methods that remain non-confrontational and non-violent, yet retained potential capability of producing visible effects.

Scott illustrates how-concerned with the enormous inequality of access to the means of production, and the obviously increasing exploitation and conscious of their predicament-the dispossessed and marginalised group manage their behaviour and discourse to their own advantage, without engaging in full-blown recalcitrance. Nagata (1987) vividly articulates the processes and strategies involved in the weapons of the weak, which he argued are entirely rational and consistent with the context:

the discontent of the dispossessed is displayed in a pattern of a simmering resistance, of low-key recalcitrance, chicanery, petty pilferage, foot dragging, dissimulation and minor sabotage, all expressed verbally in metaphors quite appropriate to the local social scene; hence in that context, rational (Nagata, 1987: 1243).

The central argument of Scott's thesis is that, aware of their condition, suppressed, apparently voiceless people evolve their own [sophisticated] means and strategies of displaying resistance. Moreover, while they take precautions to hide their intentions from the public, they do expect the effects of their resistance to be felt. Whereas such a class

may publicly comply with an order or regime, their cognitive objectives might stand directly opposed to their public behaviour. This type of resistance is so intelligently executed that it provides little occasion for others to suspect any intention to resist. Moreover, even if the effect of their resistance is not publicly felt, an intrinsic satisfaction does ensue from the realisation of their accomplishment arising from resisting a clearly greater authority (Hanchard, 2004).

In summary, like, Collinson, Scott accepts the crucial role of the human agency-the tendency of people to shift between various selves. For instance in managing attempts by the more powerful to control them, marginalised groups are able to shift between the private self that resists, and the public self that complies to forms of control, real, imagined or apparent. It is true that Scott, unlike Collinson, was writing from a fundamentally political science, rather than sociology background-the subjects of his study being non-professionals in a peasant setting. In any case, his thesis provides valuable insight into various ways that groups or classes that feel dispossessed or marginalised tend to manage and negotiate, to their own advantage, discourses that define and position them. The 'weapon of the weak' thesis thus has some relevance for understanding the dynamics of managerial-professional relationships in the context of my thesis. It also suggests that there are other forms of resistance, beyond those reviewed in earlier sections, which combine apparent consent with non-confrontational resistance. These are found in a variety of LDC settings, especially the context I provided earlier in this section, which suggests the possibility of managerial attempts to control professionals' work. Just as Collinson's work on blue collar workers has some relevance to LDC professionals, so do forms of resistance identified in other settings, including those on which the weapons of the weak thesis is premised. Having now examined managerial-professional relationships from a conflictual

perspective, I now turn to contexts where such relationships occur in more collaborative fashion.

3.9 Collaborative and Collisional managerial-professional relationships

The second general perspective on managerial and professional relationships is one that admits of a number of overlaps between managers and professionals, which provide the basis for their *peaceful co-existence* and *managed harmony*. Such a perspective suggests that metaphors other than 'conflicts and antipathy' would be more appropriate in describing such relationships given the complexities in which they are embedded. Three reasons underline this line of argument (Exworthy and Halford, 1999; Harrison, 1999). One, professionals have long taken up managerial roles, meaning that certain aspects of managerialism may find acceptance among some professionals. In this case the new managerialism is not merely about controlling professionals; it may in fact champion new patterns of compromise and collaboration between the two as in the case of professional-turned-managers. Two, the new managerialism may create managers out of professionals, thus providing opportunities to resource public sector organisations with a new cadre of managers who effectively combine technical expertise with managerial competence (see also Hoggett, 1996). Three, there is some possibility of knowledge sharing and knowledge transfer as managers attempt to imbibe the professional culture whilst professionals add a touch of management to their professional thinking and behaviour. This way, argues Causer and Exworthy (1999), it becomes difficult to distinguish whether it is managers who are imposing their agendas on professionals or whether professionals are voluntarily embracing managerialism which they perceive to be in their interest. This way it could

simply become a win-win, rather than zero-sum, win-lost situation for both managers and professionals.

Adjustment to and negotiations about the managerialism discourse has occurred within individuals and groups that are non-managerial in many possible ways, which suggests that whereas conflicts may be inevitable, so too are adaptations [most obviously by professionals to the managerialism discourse] as well as co-options. Causer and Exworthy's (1999) analysis of the various ways professional-managerial relationships are being recast in the new public sector along task/role lines thus provides an appropriate and perhaps more robust framework for understanding the complexities in which such relationships are deeply embedded. These are leading to increased blurring of the roles of managers and professionals in the context of NPM. In this process of reordering, some professionals are taking up management roles. From this perspective a different (complex) picture emerges that is entirely antithetical to the conflict perspective not least as professional employees are commonly managed by those drawn from within the ranks of the profession itself, and not necessarily by non-professional managers (Causer and Exworthy, 1999). Consequently, although managerial control may entail some loss of control on the part of the professionals, the fact that managers are either practising professionals or of professional origin may be argued to represent a continuation on the principle of professional control (see Freidson, 1994). In Freidson's view, professionals are themselves stratified, with a division between the rank-and-file practitioner and the supervisory or managerial professional. In Causer and Exworthy's (1999: 83) words below, even this two-level stratification within professions is still an oversimplification:

In many settings, a hard-and-fast distinction along these lines may be difficult to make for at least three reasons. Firstly, the group of managerial professionals may itself be internally stratified.... Secondly, a number of areas are characterised by the existence of hybrid roles in which the exercise of formalised managerial responsibilities is carried on along continuous engagement in professional practice. Thirdly, the role of the rank-and-file practitioner may itself entail activities of managerial kind even where the position occupied is not formally designated as a managerial one.

There is, judging from this quote, a need to develop a more complex typology (based on roles rather than discrete categories) which mirrors the various ways in which relationships between managers and professionals are being altered under NPM might be mapped out. This is because various individuals in the same position may interpret and enact their roles in different ways. Causer and Exworthy (1999: 84) identified three broad roles in organisations employing professionals, each of which they argue might be further differentiated into two. Firstly, there is the practising (rank-and-file) professional comprising those with no supervisory roles (the pure practitioner), and those whose role entail some form of supervision though they are not formally designated as managers (quasi-managerial practitioner). Secondly, there is the role of the *managerial professional* (drawn from the ranks of practicing professionals with primary responsibility for managing the day-to-day work of other professionals and resources they utilise). This role comprises the '*practicing managing professional*' who, besides their managerial role also continues to practice as professionals; and the *non-practicing managing professional* who discontinues their professional practice following take up of managerial responsibility. Thirdly, there is the role of the *general manager* (with overall managerial responsibility for the activities of professional employees but are not themselves concerned with the direct management of

day-to-day practice). This role may require knowledge of the profession and may involve two different categories: the *professionally-grounded general manager* (with a background in the profession) and the *non-professional general manager* (who has no background in the profession being practiced). This way of categorisation elucidates the complexities in the roles and positions of managers and professionals' roles in the new public sector.

The professional managers and [senior] managers studied for this project reflect the *practicing managing professional* and the *non-practicing managing professional* respectively. We need to ask the question 'what is managers' apparent control of professionals meant to achieve'; and whose interest (public or selfish sectional) is that achievement meant to protect? It is equally important to ask if and why professionals are demanding greater levels of autonomy. On the one hand, one might argue that senior public managers could have the moral right to curtail the autonomy of professional middle managers in the sense that the former might lay claim to operating with an ethical code to public service given that the former arguably play a 'proxy role' on behalf of politicians committed to reforming an apparently inefficient public sector. In doing so however, public interest must remain privileged over sectional interests. On the other, one could argue that professional middle managers deserve some degree of autonomy to operate in protecting the public interest provided they truly protect public, rather than personal (or professional) interests. Moreover, professional middle managers occupy a uniquely challenging and conflictual position in the sense that besides their professional position, they also double as managers (*practicing managing professional*). They thus need to be empowered to operate in both capacities as professionals but also as managers; in other words, autonomy to professional managers needs to be understood as a move to enhance their capacity to operate both as professionals and managers. It is however doubtful whether and the extent to which this

need is being currently recognised and met. This can constitute a source of conflict for professional middle managers in two distinct ways. On the one hand conflicts might develop between managers and professionals; on the other hand, even within the same professional, role conflicts can arise as they find themselves in positions where they have to make major [financial] decisions as managers, which might compromise their professional standards, and as professionals that might undermine their managerial values, ideals and motivations.

These issues could constitute an interesting area of further future research but this is certainly beyond the scope of my research. The public manager and the public professional then would be seen to be playing complementary roles although from different angles so that the justification for increased autonomy for public professionals or increased control for senior managers would be greatly determined and constrained by the extent to which each category practically demonstrates their commitment to protecting the public interest. Researching these issues would help to clarify the seeming confusion that surrounds the role of the professional-turned manager (or the *practicing managing professional*, to employ Causer and Exworthy's, 1999 framework). The discussion chapter of my thesis addresses these issues in greater detail.

3.10 Outsourcing, public managers and professionals

The introduction of quasi-market relationships into the public sector following the separation of production from provision, and the concomitant integration of private organisations in the provision of public services, seemed to have complicated the position and role of middle managers (professionals) as well as their relationships with senior

managers. This could be due largely to the extra responsibility placed on professionals in monitoring the work of outsourcing service providing staffs from private firms. Outsourcing is a subject that requires major decision making in which PMMs should be involved. It is here that PMMs have a number of issues of conflicts and considerable ambiguity. They include making decisions on outsourcing. For professional managers the question is 'how have these arrangements affected their roles, and what resources do they have to perform these roles effectively? For instance as Cooke (2006: 270) observed:

...public-private outsourcing relationships are often described in terms like "strategic alliance" and "partnership", which implies a positive relationship strategically forged between the (two) parties involved. These positive connotations not only mask the true motive and nature of the contractual relationships, but also conceal the tensions and conflicts in the process of managing these relationships, which are often a major source of pressure for the managers as well as the workforce who are responsible for delivering the services.

Tensions and conflicts especially with regards to managers managing such contracts are thus unavoidable under such arrangements. Again Scarborough and Burrell (1996) observed that studies in recent years on managers in the UK have also pointed to the fact that managerial work has been intensified in a period in which downsizing and delayering of organisational structures were common strategies adopted by firms. Middle management is the group that has been most negatively affected (Scarborough and Burrell, 1996, p. 178). Yet studies about middle managers under NPM have focused more on macro issues and challenges of organisations within which middle managers work and less on the lived

experiences of middle managers as self-conscious individuals (Cooke, 2006) and micro aspects of the middle managers' work.

It is this missing link-the lived experiences of professional middle managers under NPM, and ways in which they respond to such experiences, as well as tools they employed in response-that this thesis is aimed at investigating and elucidating. But more importantly, the justification for such a study lay principally in how the relationships between managers and professionals are mediated by a set of systemic political, socio-cultural and economic factors in which social interaction in the public sector in a developing country such as Ghana is embedded.

3.11 Conclusion

From a historical perspective, professionals' work, and professional autonomy under public administrators/managers has been continuously negotiated, and this largely resonated with the recent shifts in the philosophy about managing public organisations. Early analysis of managerial-professional relationships have been carried out from broad Marxist perspectives, viewing managers and professionals as separate categories pursuing values fundamentally different and with power relationships perceived to be of zero-sum fashion. However, this perspective has been criticised as too simplistic, losing sight of the complex nature of power relations and the human agency in organisations. As Collinson (1999; 2003) noted, quoting Kaghan (2005), power relations are not so easily subsumed in a simple class struggle model. That aside, professionals too have, over the years, been elevated to managerial positions and made responsible for the supervision of the work of externally contracted service providers.

Moreover, faced with the challenges presented by deteriorating quality of public services, compounded by the pressures of growing fiscal imbalances, the State has seen the need to increase its regulatory instruments over professional work, which had hitherto dominated the delivery of public services. This has tended to subject professionals' work and professional autonomy under senior public managers and managerialist's framework. As the analyses have shown, the necessity of current challenges facing governments, principally with respect to fiscal imbalances, have meant that the regulation by governments of professionals' work is no longer a choice but a necessity in ensuring the societal [common] good. This has led to a redefinition of public sector professionalism that came to be subsumed in and subjected to, increased managerial authority, responsibility and accountability for the use of state funds on contracts executed by private firms.

For the large number of professionals who have been given managerial responsibilities, the need to marry professional role with their augmented managerial roles became apparent and compelling. This fusion of roles means that the categorical distinctions between management and professionals in a technical sense can no longer be sustainable. As managers and professionals they are faced daily with the difficult, conflicting decisions of either imbibing the managerialists' discourses, remaining consistently attached and committed to their professional discourse and detached from management, or shifting their emphasis and identities between professionals' and managerialists' values at different times. How do they cope? Confronted with this complexity and somewhat conflict, what coping strategies do they employ and how can these be conceptualised and analysed? It is these sets of questions which are addressed in this research. Sullivan (2000) argues that the bringing of professional practice under the control of management may weaken the hold of professional (technical) expertise, allowing the profession's contract with society to be

recast on a different basis than either the old 'professional sovereignty' or the newer imperatives of 'state cost-control or corporate interests'.

There are several significant implications for the above quote, one of which is that the socio economic challenges of the time can no longer permit the demand for professional autonomy to be granted on a silver platter. Professional autonomy can only be granted if professions can demonstrate that they can convert such autonomy to improved services that benefit entire society rather than protecting the selfish interests of a handful of privileged aristocratic group. Thus professions as a concept and professional autonomy as a sociological construct are being severally redefined and recast in contemporary public sectors across the globe in line with the demands created by these changing socio-economic trends.

However, and as a balancing effect, the call for a redefinition of professional autonomy in ways that protect public interest and ensure public welfare should not be assumed to necessarily guarantee the arbitrary curbing or dismantling of professional power by managers as suggested by Clarke et al (1994a). On the contrary, the new order calls for managers and professionals to complement, not compete, with each other in promoting the public interest. It calls for 'compromises and collaboration', in Exworthy and Halford's (1999) words, between professionals and managers. It is in this context of renegotiated and redefined professional autonomy that the work of professionals and their relationship with managers have been analysed and discussed in this thesis dissertation. My research thus seeks to investigate these interrelated issues regarding managers and professionals under the new managerialism as experienced essentially by professional managers. Details of my

research objectives and methods are provided in the next chapter (4-Research Design), and for brevity sake, are not duplicated here.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH OUTLINE AND DESIGN

4. 0. Introduction

The objectives of this chapter are to present: (i) a summary of the research framework, covering the interrelated issues regarding NPM, in the context of LDCs in general and of Ghana in particular; (ii) a summary of the research focus, objectives and questions; (iii) a discussion of the methodology, and a research design justifying a case study on Ghana and in health; and finally (iv) the description of the cases selected, including methods used in collecting and analysing the data for this research.

4.1 Research Framework

In chapters 1-3 I discussed in greater depth some of the salient changes that have and continue to occur in the management of public sectors; changes analysts have labelled as NPM. Indeed, NPM is a contested terrain, a domain of conflicts, contradictions, and dilemmas because of the implications of its fundamental assumptions and building blocks of public choice and managerialism among others, for political and managerial authority and professional autonomy. By bringing together public choice and managerialism therefore, NPM is believed to create tensions between the need for greater managerial discretion and greater degree of accountability to politicians (Thomas, 1998; Christensen and Laegreid, 2002). This ‘marriage of opposites’ (Hood, 1995) requires the combination, albeit in an unspecified proportions, of centralisation and decentralisation; coordination and deregulation; and control and delegation (Aucoin, 1990). It is the absence of precision

in the proportion in which centralisation and decentralisation should be combined (which NPM framework fails to specify) that constitutes one of the major areas of conflicts and tensions between public managers and politicians (Christensen and Laegreid, 2002; Appana, 2003) and provides a recipe for power abuse under NPM.

There are different viewpoints on proportions in which centralisation and decentralisation are combined under NPM. Some argue that the difficulty in resolving these paradoxes makes NPM stronger on rhetoric and weak on reality (Hood, 1991), and is therefore nothing new. Others argue NPM increases centralisation and political power unevenly against managerial authority while others taking a contrary view maintain politicians are losing control to public managers (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999, 2002). Yet still others (Aucoin, 1990) argue it is possible to resolve these paradoxes although this would require effective combination of centralisation/decentralisation, in different proportions under different circumstances.

NPM thus defines a set of principles, and management philosophy and an organisational structure within which these reform prescriptions would be effectively implemented and reform agenda realised. A common organisational structure and design that seems to fit perfectly into the NPM design is corporatisation (fully explained in chapter two). This framework, common to most NPM reforms (Polidano, 1999) is believed to provide the organisational arrangements and management structures necessary for increasing organisational autonomy, allowing private participation in delivering public services by means of outsourcing. Autonomy to such organisations (often managed by professionally contracted chief executives from the private sector and a management board- Yamamoto, 2003) provides the leeway for making a number of decisions, including questions on which

services to provide in-house and which to source from private providers under outsourcing contractual arrangements. Such agreements mean that professional middle managers (PMMs) now have to learn to relate to private organisations, which are in many respects different in values systems and business practices, while at the same time maintaining public service values and ethos. The necessity of such a dual role suggests a possible source of conflict.

Available research suggests that middle managers working under such outsourcing arrangements encounter a number of challenges including being subject to corporate surveillance in the form of tightening targets and performance assessment, and less job security (Cooke, 2006). Other studies (Sehested, 2002; Thomas and Walshe, 2004) suggest senior managers and professionals are often in conflicts over professional and managerial values. While the NPM rhetoric is strong on the need for increased managerial authority, there is hardly a consensus on which level of management (senior or middle) exercises this acclaimed autonomy. Some commentators argue autonomy resides in senior management leading to the control and marginalisation of middle management (Willmott, 1997; Townley, 1996) while others argue that by their direct involvement in public policy implementation middle managers exercise significant degree of autonomy, thus locating autonomy in middle management as well (Smith and Walshe, 2004). That apart, there seems to be fundamental differences in the motivations and values held by senior management (appointed on contract often to fulfil pre-determined political agenda) and middle management (mostly civil servants), which have given rise to a form of power battle that seems to be linked with a number of issues middle managers encounter under corporatisation. These issues already discussed in chapter two are varied and wide-ranging, but can be summarised as: conflicts over professional civil service values and efficiency

considerations (Emery and Giauque, 2003; 2002); conflicts over public and private sector values (Collins and Green, 1999; Laegreid, 2002; Caron and Giauque, 2006); questions about corruption relating to the contracting process (Greenaway, 1995; Doig, 1997; Polidano, 1999; , McCourt, 2001; Awortwi, 2002); confusion over managerial accountability and political responsibility (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999; Collins and Green, 1999; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000); the prevalence of Tayloristic management styles (Robert, 1996; Broadbent et al, 1999; Broadbent and Laughlin, 2002); and clashes between senior management objectives and middle management (professional) autonomy.

An emerging trend between senior and middle management arising from the identified issues is a form of control (Doolin, 2001; Broadbent and Laughlin, 2002; Emery and Giauque, 2003; Caron and Giauque, 2006) akin to that evident between management and workers in organisational studies literature. In responding to the issues they encounter professional middle managers in the studies reviewed so far, have employed a number of strategies, which seem to chart varied perspectives on the nature of managerial autonomy, workplace control and resistance. Such resistance strategies have helped to move understanding of control and resistance from the stage where it is understood as a one-dimensional, linear process, where the most powerful tend to control and the less powerful resist, to a more complex, non-linear, and multi-tier process involving less straightforward and complex set of fine-grained negotiation (see chapter three for detailed discussion).

Relating the above to senior managers and professional middle management relations, control is viewed as a highly negotiated subject wrapped up in middle managers' subject positions and negotiation of personal identities (Thomas and Davies, 2005).

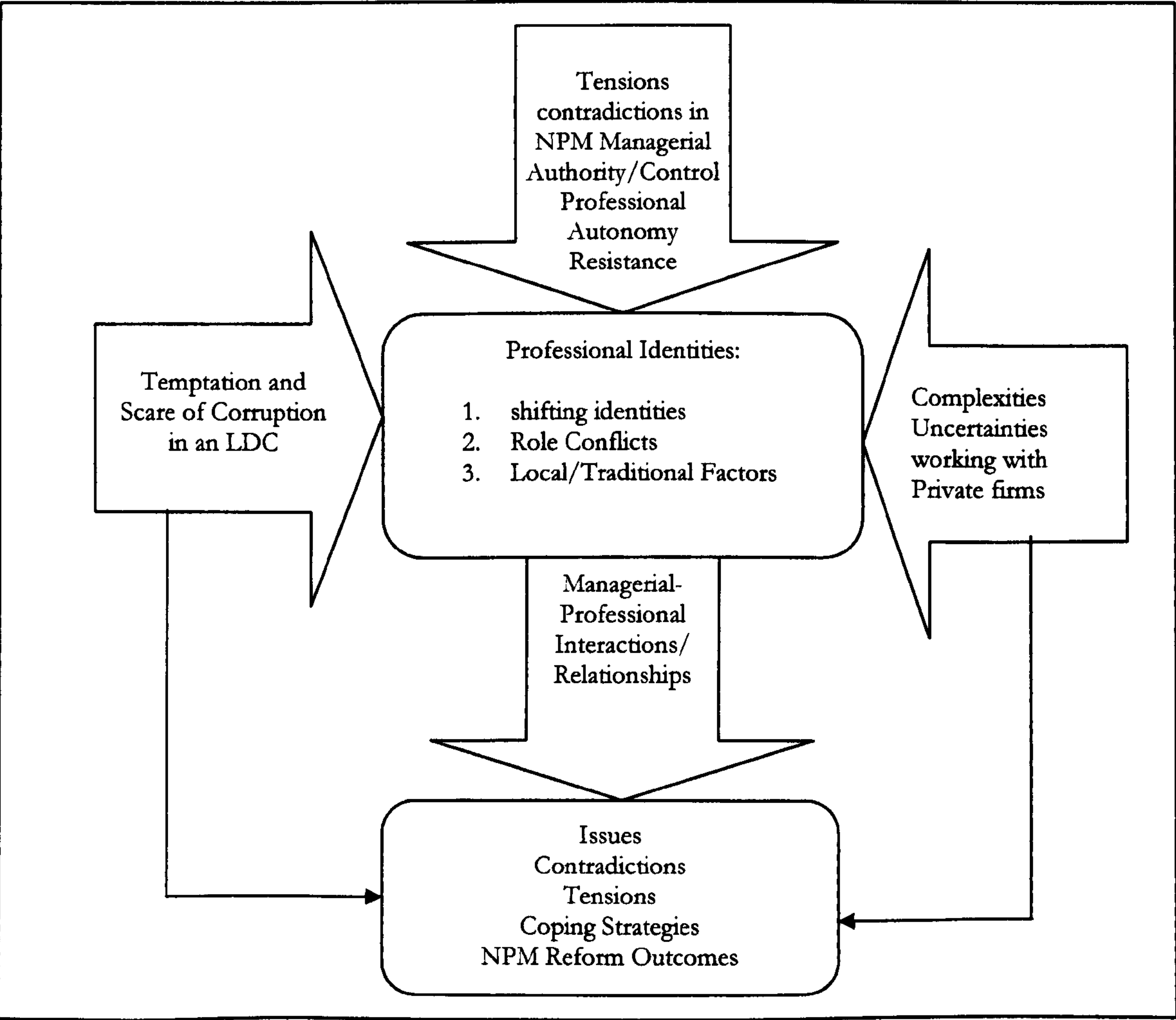
Professional middle managers are seen to possess complex, shifting, if conflicting identifications depending on who professionals identify with-managers or professionals (Thomas and Davies, 2005). In this regard one could argue that while senior managers might have access to legitimate autonomy and control by virtue of their position in the organisation, their ability to control and ensure the effectiveness of such controls strategies can be hardly guaranteed under all circumstances (Smith and Walshe, 2004). A possible explanation of this irony is the realisation that tools deployed by management to control others might fail to deliver the expected results; they could, and in fact, have delivered quite the opposite outcome by empowering those they are deployed originally to control (Rosenthal, 2004). From the foregoing a recap of the major issues faced by professional middle managers is useful. These include constant threats to their authority, control and autonomy; complexities and uncertainties arising from working with private organisation and trying to maintain public sector values in that context; temptations to engage in corrupt practices; continuous negotiation of their identities as professionals or managers or both; and finally, conflicts over their dual position as managers and as subordinates or employees-possible targets of managerial control (Willmott, 1997). These all combine to form the research framework, and are presented on a diagram in **Fig 1** below.

Against this background, this thesis research aims at understanding how all these complex, intertwined issues arising from the conflicts between increased managerial authority and professional autonomy are played out in relations between managers and professionals in outsourcing environments. Bringing in the subject of outsourcing is quite likely to compound the problems and conflicts. On the one hand, senior managers and the private outsourcing providing companies are fundamentally cost efficiency-driven (this is apparent under NPM); on the other, professional middle managers are believed to be committed to

ensuring service quality, first and foremost. For instance, the challenge of contract management that might indeed be new to professional middle managers, introduced by outsourcing is likely to present a further source of conflicts between senior managers and professional managers on the one hand, and possibly professional middle managers and private outsourcing managers on the other.

A Framework for Understanding Issues Professional Middle Managers Encounter under NPM Reforms

Fig 1



In the context of developing countries, an even greater complexity is introduced to the relationships between managers and professionals largely because of a number of intervening variables (see chapter two for full analysis), principally, corruption. One of the outcomes of such corruption-scare consciousness in developing countries has been the increased tendency for management to centralise control rather than decentralise it, producing the net result of restricted autonomy and discretion for professional middle managers. This has tended to compound the issues professional middle managers encounter under NPM reforms especially in developing countries. What follows is the research focus, including the research questions.

4.2 Research Focus

Quite recently, there has been a proliferation of research on NPM-type reforms in developing countries. Such reforms, which have taken place through organisational restructuring strategies such as corporatisation, and such service delivery strategies as outsourcing, have delivered a range of contradictory organisational outcomes. As earlier explained corporatisation and outsourcing represent two special arrangements that seek to bring together public and private sector organisations for collaborating in delivering public services, and hence these are the most representative form of NPM reforms. In spite of some overlaps, there exist considerable differences in goals and preoccupations, and rationales for outsourcing between the perspectives of senior management and professional middle management. Such differences are capable of delivering different outcomes and experiences for both levels of management within the public sector, which could further compound and contradict reform outcomes. Essentially, professional middle managers represent one category of managers that have both experienced and been affected by such

contradictions not least because they are directly involved with reform implementation. Against that backdrop the lived experiences of professional middle managers, playing a boundary-spanning role in outsourcing projects, implemented under senior managers in collaboration with private service providers, would be a good starting point for examining and understanding the nature of such contradictory reform outcomes.

Whereas NPM-type reforms have been significantly researched in Ghana, only few researchers focused on the experiences of professional middle managers or attempted to examine the particular challenges they face as they work under senior managers in the implementation of such reforms. I argue that the lived experiences of these managers are worth studying for at least three reasons. One, because of their critical position in any public sector reform programme as those directly involved with implementation and associated challenges. Two, in the context outsourcing initiatives, professional middle managers operate between senior managers and private outsourcing providing firms, playing a crucial boundary-spanning role, where the subject of contract management does pose a crucial challenge. Three, as made clear from chapter two and early part of this chapter, NPM reforms in a developing country such as Ghana are further mediated by a number of systemic factors that tend to complicate the outcomes especially for professional middle managers. Corruption is a case at issue, engendering a situation where increased centralisation [rather than decentralisation in line with NPM prescription] is pursued, which tends to curtail the power and discretion of professional managers and reduce their ability to perform effectively. Lessons from investigating these hitherto under-researched issues can help contribute to our understanding and lead to a reconceptualisation of particular challenges both managers and professional in LDCs encounter under NPM.

4.3 Research Questions

Against this background, this research attempts to answer three main questions, which I discuss below under separate sections:

1. What issues and challenges (conflicts, contradictions, dilemmas and paradoxes) do public managers, especially professional middle managers in Ghana encounter in corporatised organisations outsourcing some functions to private companies?

Drawing on previous chapters, it is clear that in the context of NPM there are potentials for conflicts and tensions between politicians and public managers. It is also clear that such politicians-public managers' conflicts have been reduced significantly by the increased use of contracts which makes public managers accountable to politicians, giving the latter a proxy role to supervise and execute the implementation of public policies as they affect service delivery. This consequently increased the power of senior managers in comparison to professional managers and necessitated the subordination of the latter group as well as values they espouse to senior managers and managerial values. Chapter three demonstrates that both managerialism and professionalism define a system of values and beliefs that could be seen as potentially in conflict and tension with each other, which suggests potential conflicts between senior and professional middle managers.

In line with this, the first research question aims to investigate the nature of such tensions, contradictions and conflicts by examining three sub-questions as follows:

1.1 *What are the various rationales underlying outsourcing initiatives?*

Most commonly-cited academic literatures suggest that public sector outsourcing is by many standards a political decision underlain by the need to attain economic efficiency, thus often drawing little attention to particular circumstances of public organisations other than economic inefficiency that might warrant outsourcing. Investigating and understanding the rationale for outsourcing from both senior and professional [public] managers' point of view would help provide common grounds for outsourcing among senior managers and professionals, which could provide the context for understanding managerial-professional interactions in outsourcing initiatives.

1.2 *What is the extent of professional middle managers' involvement in making decisions relating to outsourcing?*

My thesis intends, for instance to investigate whether and the extent to which professional middle managers make inputs to determining which functions get outsourced as well as which service providing firms are selected and the criteria for achieving this. From organisation studies literature and recently from human resource management literature, involving organisational members in decision making is believed to be crucial to sustaining their commitment to the organisation. Moreover, in professional environments such as health institutions, the involvement of professionals in decision making is an important component of professional autonomy; in other words professional autonomy and discretion relate in crucial ways to whether and the extent to which professionals' views on important organisational issues are sought. Professional autonomy also borders on whether and the extent to which professionals are allowed to make both strategic and operational decisions regarding their day-to-day practice. The extent of discretion professional middle managers are allowed would also be investigated.

1.3 *What issues come up in managerial-professional relationships especially in dealing with external service providing managers?*

The introduction of private players with quite different ethos and work habits at least in Ghana's context, necessitating the additional need for managing contracts, could potentially unleash conflicts and tensions between senior managers, professional middle managers and private managers. For instance, it was observed in chapter two that while corporatisation is believed to ensure organisational autonomy, such autonomy imposes additional requirements of skills to effectively manage contracts on the corporatised organisation, although the availability of such skills capacity is often taken for granted. A lack of contract management skills within both senior and professional middle management compounded by differences in ethos of public and private organisations is likely to constitute a major source of conflict. For professional middle managers, directly involved with implementation and daily supervising of outsourcing contracts, these issues could assume an even greater dimension, as they attempt to steer between their managerial function and professional roles.

Against this background, several issues could be identified that could potentially affect managerial-professional relationships. Among such, and fundamental to this discussion is how managerial and professional values and frameworks conflict and tend to unleash tensions and dilemmas in managerial-professional relationships and interactions. Such tensions and dilemmas include attaining cost-efficiency at the expense of professional standards; focussing unnecessarily on results to the possible neglect of proper procedures; and the exercise of managerial authority and its associated consequences for professional

autonomy. Additionally, the [economic, political, social and cultural] issues which constitute the typical Ghanaian workplace dynamics, which I introduced in chapter one could potentially pose a challenge to managerial-professional relationships. In a nut shell, this question seeks to investigate the potential issues [which the challenges identified above, coupled with the contradictory role that the range of cultural practices including corruption plays in NPM reforms especially in Africa] are likely to be introduced into the relationships and interactions between senior managers and professional middle managers.

2. *What strategies or coping devices do professional middle managers engage in response to these issues, and how can we conceptualise these strategies*

Chapter two provides a summary of professionals' response to managerial control attempts, employing a variety of strategies that either portrayed them as powerless and unquestioning selves or as powerful, self-conscious individuals able to negotiate their personal selves and identities (Scott, 1985; Collinson, 1999; 2003). Through various means of resistance professionals have shown, in line with Fenton-O'Creevy's (2001) viewpoint, that organisational power is better conceived and understood as something which circulates freely in the organisation rather than monopolised by a handful of senior managers.

Moreover, the exercise of power and the response to it tends to differ significantly across individuals and under various circumstances in ways that can portray the same individual as different selves at different times; for instance, as *resistant selves*, *conformist selves*, and *dramaturgical selves* (Collinson, 2003-see chapter three). This suggests professionals have a range response options with respect to managerial exercise of control resources: resisting these by different means or portraying selves which are entirely different [and shifting]

from their true selves. Such shifting modes of identity could split individual selves between ‘competing and conflicting ends (Collinson, 2003). In this context professionals could, for instance ascribe different levels of significance to their position: as professionals and as managers, which would tend to influence their [divided and managed] loyalty to their managerial function and professional roles. This could in turn split their identity between the *instrumental and indifferent self* as a manager; and the *real self* as a professional, assuming they identify more with professionals and less with managers. In this sense, depending on which (their professional role or their managerial role) they ascribe greater significance professionals could be ‘acting’ or ‘dramatising’ in the exercise of their duties as professionals or as managers. On the other hand, if they wish to remain the ‘ideal manager’ and ‘ideal professionals’ simultaneously, this option would also introduce a possible range of behaviours with associated challenges.

Against this background, different response or coping strategies are anticipated from professionals. In the context of Ghana-a developing country with the challenge of corruption, poorly developed public service values and ethics, and of course little engrained participatory management culture in both the body politic and in enterprise-responses to issues are expected to follow different trajectories, mediated, reflected and compounded by a range of factors embedded in the country’s peculiar political, economic and socio-cultural orientation as discussed in chapter one. Responses in this context are not expected to as confrontational as would be complex and indirect including gossip, reflecting the reactionary behaviour typical of a power-distance society.

3. *What lessons can we learn from questions 1 and 2 above to move forward our understanding of the implication of the interaction between managerial authority and professional autonomy for NPM reform outcomes in a developing non-Western country context?*

Exploring the above issues and how professionals respond to them would contribute to our understanding of:

1. The local factors that determine and give shape to the nature, trend and outcomes of NPM reforms in a developing country context.
2. How local factors tend to affect managerial-professional relationships in a developing country undergoing NPM reforms.

4.4 Research Methodology

A research methodology combines various techniques in enquiring into a specific situation (Easterby-Smith et al, 2002). Against this background I judge qualitative survey, using semi-structured interviews as most appropriate research methodology for investigating the identified issues in this project. In this study, a phenomenon- interaction and reactions of senior-middle managers under NPM reforms-is being studied in the context of a developing, transition economy, Ghana, a country that has peculiar features and circumstances capable of shaping reform implementation and outcomes. It is commonplace in social science and management research to allow the choice of research methodology to be freely influenced by the type of research question and the degree of control an investigator has over actual behavioural events (Yin, 1984).

Given the complexity of both the phenomenon to be investigated and the context in which the study is being undertaken, case studies, which combines interviews with such alternative sources of data as important organisational documents, artefacts, and participant observation would have seemed the most appropriate. However, as the tremendous difficulty encountered in accessing these additional data sources was leading to unnecessary waste in terms of time and budget, I have decided to use semi-structured interviews, which I consider equally appropriate under the circumstances.

To address any possible lapses resulting from reliance on a single major source of data, I have taken great care in designing the interview guides in as comprehensive as possible manner. For instance, I interviewed three categories of managers: senior, middle [public managers) and external private, service providing managers. By far, as I made clear in chapters two and three, senior-middle management relations have been substantially conflictual and tensional especially with respect to approach to contract management. Such conflicts seem compounded by bringing on board private sector service providing managers who tend to hold quite different opinions, values and ethos, compared to public managers. In my view, this divergence in values and ethos could constitute considerable source of conflicts, hence involving these three categories of managers in the research was aimed to unearth possible deep-seated issues by which managerial-professional relationships have been characterised.

I designed interview guides in a manner that helps probe managers' responses further, and administered these in a tension-free, non-threatening atmosphere, allowing respondents' free opinions on questions asked. Having a background in conversation analysis and discursive research, I paid particular attention to respondents' use of language, both vocal

and body, attempting to avoid imposing my personal opinions on their responses. Moreover, by the nature of both the issues under investigation and the context of this research, I have abandoned research methodologies involving the testing [for confirmation] or falsification of hypotheses in preference for those that provide opportunities to explore understand, and learn (Kupler and Kupler, 1985). This research is aimed to explore, learn and understand what is occurring in a social process of interaction, embedded in a constellation of political, socio-cultural and economic factors that provide a form of social lens through which to make sense of the phenomenon under investigation. It is the peculiarity of the context which is expected to give shape to this study, and significantly distinguish theories emerging from it from existing theories, making the application of such theories particularly relevant, if largely restricted, to that and similar contexts.

While such concepts as managers, outsourcing, and economic efficiency are nothing new in the context of public sector organisations, outsourcing as a method of delivering public services seems to be gaining an unprecedented level of popularity in the current era of managerialism, when market factors are assuming greater level of influence on public service delivery. Within this framework, complexities are likely to set in for a variety of, but at least two reasons. First, senior managers are, in a sense seen to be playing a double role: representing the interests of politicians and of managers, suggesting their loyalties are likely to be split between politicians' and managers' goals. Second, and similarly, professional middle managers (PMMs) could be trapped in a loyalty-splitting role, making them linger or stuck between professional and managerial goals. Part of the central concern of this study is to understand how both categories of managers behave when confronted with the complexities within public organisations on the one hand, and the dilemmas and tensions inherent in their dual-role on the other.

Within this context, rather than survey questionnaires [which require respondents to indicate whether and the extent to which they agree or disagree with certain exogenously predetermined statements on a structured rating scale that purportedly describe their encountered and experienced phenomenon], semi-structured interview [which allows respondents to provide their independent, individualised discursive accounts of the issues], becomes a preferred methodology for investigation. I am sufficiently aware of the limitations and criticisms, which are held, among academics particularly those from the quantitative research tradition, to go with qualitative research in general and semi-structured interviews in particular.

However, there is a reawakening within academics to the long-held misconceptions about qualitative research, using methods such as case study and semi-structured interviews (Seale et al, 2004; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Sedmark, 2007). For instance, questions are raised about the validity and reliability of qualitative research, especially because most qualitative researchers do not employ sampling techniques. It is in recognition of this that I have taken the steps outlined above to ameliorate any such possible shortcoming. By the nature of the issues to be investigated as well as the subjects required, this study is by no means a sample study; thus no systematic probabilistic sampling procedure has been followed in selecting the cases for this project. On the contrary, the cases were purposefully selected to reflect the ideal organisations considered necessary for generating data relevant for examining and understanding the complex issues identified for investigation. Indeed the cases were selected not because they constitute a representative sample but because they have features critical to understanding the issues identified for investigation. This type of purposeful selection of cases, Flyvbjerg (2006) calls 'a clever or strategic choice of cases', which he argues is important in improving the generalizability of the findings to a certain degree.

4.4.1 Research History and Pilot Studies

The issues identified in this research were initially proposed to be investigated using the Ghana Army as a Case. This proposal was based on a preliminary background survey of the Ghana Army, which confirmed the possibility of obtaining the type of data being sought. The first research visit to Ghana was therefore embarked upon in September 2005 with the view to establishing relevant links and conducting a pilot study based on a list of pilot interviews. After two weeks of frustrating, unsuccessful attempts, three successful interviews were eventually conducted, all of which revealed the disappointing reality that while the Ghana Army has outsourced a large number of functional areas, it has very little to offer in terms of data with respect to the relevant issues into which insight was being sought. Upon advice from my key contact to approach the Ghana Health Service (GHS), a public institution that had seen a substantial growth in both the reach and scale of outsourcing in recent times, I made a key contact and a number of strategic contacts in the GHS before returning to the UK.

The period spanning October and December saw intensification of relationships and networking, through correspondence, with the GHS contacts, paving the way for a second trip to Ghana in early January 2006 after a second set of pilot interview schedule was prepared. GHS proved more promising in terms of the type of data sought as well as the cooperation of the contacts. However, after more than ten successful interviews providing data into a number of interesting issues another painful decision was made to look for another institution for this investigation due to two main reasons: (i) the levels of management (senior and middle) upon which investigation is based is lacking; (ii) although involved in shaping health policy with respect to outsourcing, GHS being a policy, rather

than service delivery institution, is not directly involved with the management of outsourcing contracts. The names of the two largest teaching hospitals (KBu and KATH) finally came up. After a careful survey of their (KBu and KATH) organisational and governance structures including the levels of management and the functional areas where outsourcing has occurred the final decision was made to base the study on these two institutions. The trip for the final data collection therefore took place in early May 2006, lasting some seven weeks. Whereas much of the data analysed for this thesis was based on KATH and KBu, some, if, little use was made of pilot interview data in this thesis

4. 4. 2 Research Sites and Choice of Cases

Two research sites (KAT and KBu) were selected because they possess characteristics archetypal of corporatized, semi-autonomous organisations with senior and middle (professional) management levels within the public health institutions. Although K'Bu is the nation's premier hospital and remains largest teaching hospital in the country, it is not in any significant way different from KATH with respect to resource endowment, administration and governance as well as the mode of and arrangements for delivering public services. Additionally, both institutions are teaching hospitals, have similar departments offering similar services, and have both benefited from a recent refurbishment and furnishing with state-of-the-art medical facilities and technology for treating a wide range of diseases and ailments. Both institutions have also for more two decades enjoyed a relatively higher degree of autonomy, compared to other public health institutions across the country. The only major difference between the two sites though, if insignificant, lies in their geographical location; KBu is located in the capital at the coast while KATH is located in the middle belt of the country, away from the capital.

The selection of two research sites was not in any way informed by the need to build a comparative interface into the research process in respect of how site characteristics might influence research outcomes. Instead a second site became necessary as a matter of convenience: to provide the required number of respondents, fitting into the researcher's definition of senior managers and professional middle managers in the skill areas concerned. The cases so selected thus reflect fundamental differences in the skills levels in the functional areas where outsourcing has occurred. For instance, the Installation/Maintenance case involves departments performing tasks requiring highly sophisticated technical skills such as magnetic resonance imagery (MRI), biological engineering and the installation of sophisticated medical equipment and machinery, while the Cleaning case require mainly low-value skills such as the Environmental sanitation and cleaning departments. Thus the comparative element in this piece of research applies only to the differences in the level of skills involved with the two cases (Installation/Maintenance on the one hand, and Cleaning on the other) as opposed to research site characteristics. It is the former, not the latter, that provides the basis for critical comparative analysis.

Two main sets of issues exercised the researcher in selecting the cases. The first includes: the complexity of task and level of skills required to perform it (see next section for discussion). The second is the rationale for outsourcing. For instance it became obvious that the rationale for outsourcing low-value skills (e.g. cleaning) would be different from the rationale for outsourcing high-value skills such as installation and maintenance. These are apparent factors likely to influence senior managers' disposition or inclination to exercise control over what professional middle managers do, which would in effect

influence the degree to which the latter would resist or comply. The task of managers from installation and maintenance involves more complex skills than those of cleaning.

4. 4. 3 *Installation/Maintenance*

This case involves medical-related experts such as biomedical engineers whose primary duty is to ensure that [due] strict procedures and standards are followed in procuring, installing and maintaining medical systems. Also included here are experts such as civil and electrical engineers who are responsible for ensuring that the hospital's estates and other facilities such as lifts are regularly maintained. Most managers interviewed in this case are professionals in their respective fields in terms of training and membership to professional bodies. Such managers have responsibility for only one department and their work involves high-value [expert] skills in that no unskilled person can be employed to perform their tasks, making their position extremely important in the organisation. Since their work requires expert skills, which according to Crozier' (1964) and Reed's (1996) analysis constitutes a source of expert power, against which another form of [controlling and regulating] power develops (see chapter three), it is expected that the tendency of management to exercise control over their work would be great in this case. Again, much of what these managers do is what the service providing managers have been contracted to do, suggesting that their entire domain of influence is being taken over as a result of outsourcing. Referring to this category of managers, whose domain of professional practice seems restricted Causer and Exworthy (1999) observed that many of them could have personal fears of being sidelined into practitioner niches where they are restricted to practicing as professionals (see chapter three for a fuller analysis).

Against this background, it was anticipated that managers in Installation/Maintenance would be more predisposed to resenting senior management control than would managers from Cleaning. Consequently, adopting Crozier and Reed's framework above, a more conflictual relationship is anticipated between senior management and PMMs in Installation/Maintenance than those in Cleaning. Although the central focus of this research is professional middle managers, the views of senior managers and service providing managers can give indication of and elucidate the potential issues middle managers encounter in working in corporatised organisations where some functions are outsourced.

Table 4.1 *List of Managers interviewed for the Installation/Maintenance (KATH & KBU)*

Position	Professional Status	Managerial Responsibility	Management Category
Chief Executive	Qualified/certified [non-practicing] medical officer/qualification in management	Overall responsibility for running the hospital, drives for goal attainment	Senior Management
Director of Administration	Qualified Administrator/MBA	Responsibility for overall administrative issues	Senior management
Procurement Manager	Non-medical officer Degree in Procurement & MBA	Coordinates procurement activities in all hospital departments	Senior Management
Technical/Business Manager	Qualified Mechanical Engineer (including hospital engineering)	Provides consultancy advice on human/non-human procurement related to health (not support) services; coordinates engineering-related activities	Professional Middle manager
Biomedical Engineering Manager	Qualified/certified medical officer/biomedical engineer	In charge of the biomedical department, managing other biomedical engineers and technicians	Professional Middle manager
Estate Manager	Qualified/certified Civil Engineer/certificate in Estate Management	Advise management on civil works, make preliminary assessment of proposed projects, estimates costs, responsible for hospital accommodation issues	Professional Middle manager
Maintenance Manager	Qualified/certified mechanical engineer	Overall responsibility for planned and preventive maintenance of hospital machinery/plant/accommodation, coordinates technical officers/technicians	Professional Middle manager
Manager, Philips Medical Systems	Qualified Chemical Engineer and certified customer service manager	Contracted to coordinate the purchase/installation/maintenance of medical equipment and systems	Service providing manager
Manager, Hospital Engineering	Qualified Chemical Engineer specializing in hospital engineering	Contracted to coordinate purchase/installation/maintenance of medical/non-medical equipment	Service providing manager
Manager, Elesca Engineering	Qualified Electrical Engineer	Contracted to coordinate the regular maintenance and repair of elevators and escalators (hence the name, Ele-sca)	Service providing manager

4. 4. 4 *Cleaning*

This case involves managers whose primary duty is ensuring the cleanliness, neatness and health of the hospital environment. Managers in this department are, by training and practice, health professionals such as doctors, nurses and environmental and sanitation experts. These managers have under them a large number of unskilled staffs, who do the 'cleaning and grass mowing' to keep hospital environment clean. Their task largely involves supervising the supporting staffs to do the work. Moreover, among those interviewed, many have other responsibilities outside their immediate department. For instance, the nurses' manager is also a practicing nurse. The Poly manager manages a whole Polyclinic unit. The estates manager has responsibility for all hospital estates, and not only for the cleaning department, while the environmental sanitation manager has overall responsibility for the health and cleanliness of the entire hospital. These managers are responsible for managing outsourcing contracts for more routine tasks, which should surely be more straightforward to manage than their counterparts in the Installation and Maintenance case. In this case, it is not likely, adopting Crozier's framework they would be seen by senior management to constitute an expert power, hence it is expected that senior management would exhibit less propensity to control what professional middle managers do. Even if senior management should decide to exercise control over the activities of these managers, because the latter have responsibilities for areas other than the cleaning department, it is quite unlikely whether they would seriously resent senior management attempt to reduce their power or autonomy by taking over some of their (middle managers') areas of responsibility. Following are those involved with cleaning cases.

Table 4.2 *List of Managers (Cleaning) (KATH & KBu)*

<i>Position</i>	<i>Professional Status</i>	<i>Managerial Responsibility</i>	<i>Management Category</i>
Chief Executive	Qualified/certified [non-practicing] medical officer/qualification in management	Overall responsibility for running the hospital, drives for goal attainment	Senior Management
Director of Administration	Qualified Administrator/MBA	Responsibility for overall administrative issues	Senior management
Procurement Manager	Non-medical officer Degree in Procurement & MBA	Coordinates procurement activities in all hospital departments	Senior Management
Estate Manager	Qualified/certified Civil Engineer/certificate in Estate Management	Advise management on civil works, make preliminary assessment of proposed projects, estimates costs, responsible for hospital accommodation issues	Professional Middle manager
Environmental Sanitation Manager	Certified and practicing Community/Public Health expert	Overall responsibility for the cleanliness of hospital including drains, and rubbish collection	Professional Middle manage
Nurses Manager	Qualified/registered practicing Nurse	Responsibility of the cleanliness of wards, ensuring the practice of nursing is done to acceptable standards	Professional Middle manage
Polyclinic Manager	Qualified, practicing Medical Officer	Responsibility for managing the Polyclinic with budgetary responsibilities	Professional Middle Manage
Bontu Manager	Non-professional manager	Contracted to oversee the cleaning of selected hospital departments	Service providing manager
City Janitorial Manager	Non-professional manager	Contracted to oversee the cleaning of selected hospital departments	Service providing manager

4.5.0 Method of Inquiry

4.5.1 *Data Collection*

Instruments for data collection: Semi-structured interviews were used to gather qualitative data from respondents. Senior and middle public managers answered the same set of questions while for private middle managers the questions were modified to preclude aspects asking for outcomes of outsourced projects. All interviews took place during normal office hours and respondents were allowed time off to respond to interviews. Interviews lasted 45-60; 50-65 and 35-45 minutes on the average, for senior public managers, professional middle public managers and private service providing managers respectively. While access to background information such as minutes of meetings, documents reviewing the outcomes of outsourced projects, etc was highly anticipated, a great difficulty was experienced in achieving this, explaining the heavy reliance of this research on interview data. However there was opportunity for some form of observation, which helped make greater sense of the issues encountered by the various respondents.

Content of interview schedule: There were two parts to interviews. The first part deals with issues such as reasons for outsourcing; who made outsourcing decisions; and whether the right people were involved in making such decisions. For the second part, questions cover pertinent issues and challenges respondents encountered in their experience of outsourcing and in working with other categories of managers; how these issues were dealt with and the coping strategies they employed as well as the lessons learnt in the process. In conducting the interviews, a discourse analytic approach was adopted, which means special attention was accorded non-verbal language in its various forms including facial expressions, unprecedented pauses, and instances where it

became obvious respondents felt uncomfortable or they were 'treading a forbidden territory'. By 'treading a forbidden territory', I mean a clear indication that the issues they were talking about were issues they considered too 'heavy' or 'sacred', which they felt uncomfortable talking about. Typical statements associated with such instances include, 'could this be taken off record?' I don't know', some of these things'...it's hard to talk about them. Each interview was audio taped using digital recording device while journal summary entries were made alongside (please see interview schedule in the Appendix section).

4.5.2 *Data Analysis*

Data organization: Interview data were audio-recorded digitally and compared with written fieldwork summaries. The use of digital files allowed for storing interview data on PCs, laptops, flash memory sticks as well as MP3 players, and even burnt onto data CD, which were carried along and played several times to ensure every important detail from the interviews were captured in the form of transcripts. That said any information considered irrelevant is excluded from being transcribed although not deleted from files.

Data display and analysis: Interview transcripts are organized into simple display matrices, which take several forms but based principally on themes that emerge from the interview transcripts. Such themes emerged freely from responses to questions rather than exogenously determined and imposed. Matrices were developed around research questions with the vertical axis recording detailed research questions and the horizontal axis, responses of manager to the questions. The responses were recorded in the appropriate grid, mapping research question to respondent. The data was organized on the basis of

cases, and management category, not research sites [which I have earlier explained has little relevance for our analysis]. In this sense tables and matrices comparing the two cases (Installation/Maintenance) from both sites (KATH and KBu) within the same management category were organized, which provided the basis for critical comparative analysis. This way, the Installation/Maintenance cases from both sites were compared with the cleaning cases from both sites within the same management category or level. Since senior managers were interviewed once, their responses covering their opinions, assessment and evaluation of outsourcing in general (both high-value and low-value skills area), their views were analysed only once. Thus while for instance, middle managers' responses to Installation/Maintenance cases were analysed separately from their responses to cleaning cases senior managers' views were sought on outsourcing generally, not on any particular functional area.

The framework employed in the analysis of data for this research is a combination of a number of theories including grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) (although not much use was made of coding), and the framework presented by Miles and Huberman, 1994). In attempting to make sense of interactions some application of discourse analysis (Wetherell, Taylor, Yates, 2001) especially conversation analysis (Woofitt, 2001) and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2001) was made. The application of discourse analytic framework was prompted by the need to make sense of responses which were largely less straightforward and indirect and require looking continuously at words, phrases and sentences. Specifically, the focus was on talk: how respondents understood themselves, how they construct and reconstruct themselves and their position in the organization in relation to others, and the significance of their chosen mode of reaction or coping strategies for the research questions addressed in this project.

The analysis also attempts an explanation of differences between one case [Installation/Maintenance] and another [Cleaning] on the basis of the basic beliefs underlying the selection of the cases. Insights gained from literature examining the interactions and relationships between managers and professionals in the public sector (see chapter three) have greatly informed the framework used for investigating and understanding the interactions occurring between and among the various categories of managers studied.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS

5. 0. Introduction: Background to KATH and KBu

As the nation's two largest teaching hospitals, KATH and KBu have played a crucial role as referral hospitals for a number of diseases and ailments and from a wide range of hospitals, clinics and health institutions. Both institutions were initially established to provide tertiary health care, provide facilities to educate and train health professionals, and to conduct research and champion specialist outreach services. The need to treat a wide range of terminal diseases made government invest heavily in both institutions especially in heavy hospital machinery and equipment. With over 1000-bed capacity and about 2,500 members of staff each, these tertiary health institutions serve the referral needs of the entire country, apart from normal out-patient and in-patient services.

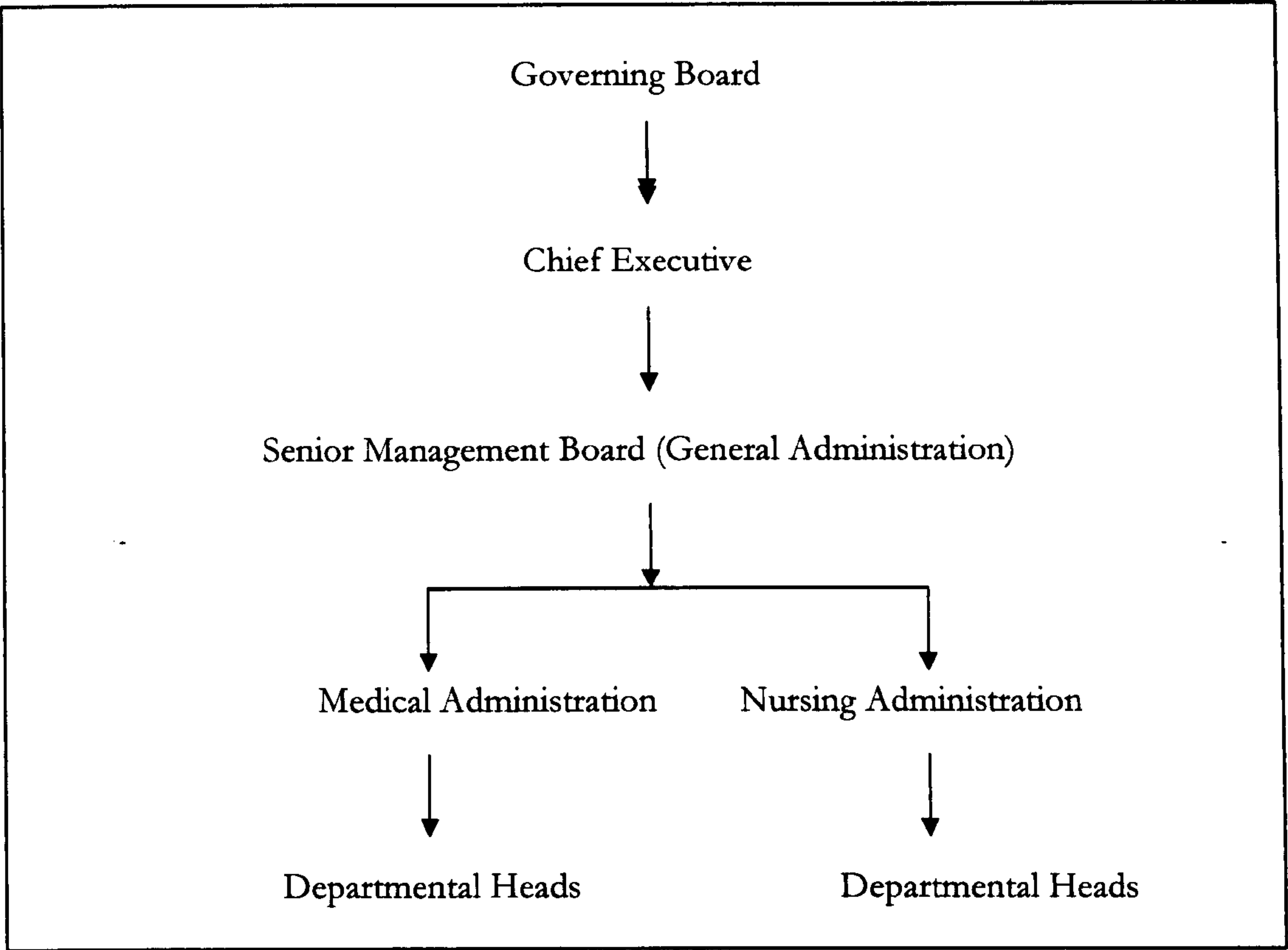
KATH is affiliated to Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Medical School while KBu is affiliated to University of Ghana Medical School, and both are accredited for postgraduate training by the West African College of Surgeons in surgery, obstetrics and gynaecology, otorhinolaryngology, ophthalmology and radiology. At the heart of the mission statements of these institutions is the heightened need to form strategic collaborations with local and international partners for the provision of excellent, world-class clinical and non-clinical health service. Part of this strategic collaboration involves encouraging greater private participation by means of outsourcing or sub-contracting of both clinical and non-clinical functions to private firms. It is in line with this vision, aligned with the present political vision of making the private sector the engine of

the country's economic growth, that the installation and maintenance, and cleaning functions studied for this thesis have been outsourced.

5.0.1 *Governance and Autonomy Status*

Both institutions began under management of a relatively independent management board although still within the constraints of the Ministry of Health with subvention from the Ministry of Finance. The governance of the two Teaching Hospitals revolves around a nine-member Board, a full-time Chief Executive while the general management revolves around a tripartite management (Senior Management Board in charge of General Administration; Medical Administration, and Nursing Administration). The Board (topmost) consists of a Chairman and four persons appointed by the government, the Chief Executive of the hospital, the Dean of the Medical School, and a representative each of the Ministries of Health and Finance. The following gives the governance and management structure of the two institutions. KATH is presented as site A and KBu as site B, implying such numbering as Table 5.1A and 5.1B correspond to the first table for KATH and KBu respectively.

Table 5.0 *Governing and Management Structure (KATH and KBu)*



5.0.2 *The process of decision making*

Decision making in these institutions occurs at three disparate levels: the governance level-involving the Governing Board and the Chief Executive; the general administration level-involving the Chief Executive and Senior Management Board; and on the medical/Clinical level involving the Chief Executive and the Medical and Nursing Managers, in line with the governance and management structure. Senior managers studied for these cases are located within the General Administration together with the Chief Executive, while professional middle managers are located within the ranks of Medical and Nursing Administration. Central management Board (CMB), as used in these cases is composed of Senior

Management Board together with the Heads of the various Departments under the Medical and Nursing Administrative Units. This means professional middle managers automatically belong to CMB. All professional middle managers (PMMs) are heads of departments (HODs). Regarding strategic issues and issues of general administration, senior management board (SMB) is the final authority; however, decisions on any issue relating to or with direct effect on medical and nursing practice must be referred to CMB. Normal operational decisions regarding the conduct of medical and nursing practice are the domains of heads of departments and the ranks of medical/nursing professionals. It is practically difficult to include CMB on Table 5.0 as membership runs across the various ranks and levels of management (i.e. it includes the Chief Executive, senior managers and middle managers).

5.0.3 *The administration of outsourcing contracts*

The contract procedure guideline stipulates that once a decision is reached to outsource a given function, a tender is prepared to allow potential service providers to bid on a competitive basis, all in line with the move to bring competition to the delivery of public services. If the function being outsourced is a high-value skill area in which senior managers feel they do not possess enough expertise in order to understand the technicalities the need for an external [hired] consultant with expertise in the area becomes imperative. In that case the consultant becomes a specialist technical advisor to senior management but also serves as a special supervisor in protecting the interest of the hospital in the administration of the contract. In such circumstances although professional middle managers (HODs) are supposed to be the supervisors over the service providing managers, advising senior management on what to do, they tend to lose this position to hired

consultants who are believed to know best (As I show later in the analysis, it is this which represents a fundamental conflict between senior managers, consultants and professional middle managers.

5.0.4 Background to Installation and Maintenance Cases

Like several other hospitals in the country, KBu & KATH were for years confronted with the challenge of machines and equipment lying redundant because they are either broken down and cannot be repaired or have been wrongly procured and installed. Underlying this challenge was a dearth of medical doctors and other experts required to handle such equipment, mainly due to the low public sector wages, which limited government's capacity to recruit, train, motivate and retain qualified health professionals. This challenge intensified following the deregulation of the health market in the 1980s, when a number of private players entered either providing health services or as suppliers of pharmaceutical products or medical equipment. By mid 1990s, public health institutions were already battling with shortage of health professionals including medical and paramedical staffs. These developments contributed to a further aggravation of the nation's health situation in the sense that the scarce national health resources were either being expended on acquiring wrong health or medical equipment that could neither be used or repaired in the event of breakdown due to lack of expert technicians.

In 1996, the government decided to address this challenge by standardizing most equipment in many of the public hospitals and health facilities across the country and contracting their supply to private firms. Under the contract the firms were to take over the supply, installation and regular maintenance (preventive and corrective) of named

equipment. But KBu & KATH were presented with an additional package in which an agreement was reached with Philips Medical Systems, one of the contractor firms to regularly train their staffs in handling hospital equipment. With these arrangements, the potential for purchasing wrong medical equipment became appreciably minimal; if this should occur, the cost (burden) was transferred to the contractor firms. Also under the agreement both hospitals were required to present to the contractor firms a full list of equipment, and a list of potential medical engineers to be trained to handle them. Senior managers indicated there were separate contracts for each hospital although access could not be granted to these for the researcher. It is in this context that the two hospitals decided to outsource their Installation/Maintenance function to private service providing firms, including Philips Medical Systems, Hospital Engineering and Elesca Engineering.

Depending on the degree of complexity in the task area outsourced, external consultants were hired to both advise the hospital and oversee the execution of the contracts by the contracted service providing firms. The focus of this research is investigating the challenges the outsourcing of this function presented to the professional middle managers who are heads of departments working under senior managers on the one hand, and with private service providing managers, on the other in both hospitals.

It is in the context of all this that the questions posed in this research are investigated. Tables 5.1 below displays the responses of senior management to the research questions whilst Tables 5.2 displays responses from PMMs

Table 5.1 *Responses of Senior Management*

Research question	Chief Executive		Director, Administration		Procurement/Sup-Chain Manager	
	KATH	K' Bu	KATH	K' Bu	KATH	K' Bu
Why outsource?	Cost/benefit Core/non-core Affordability Capacity Worker attitudes	-economic -political -openness -fight corruption -capacity -attitudes to work	Cost Government policy Core/non-core Capacity Bad Work habits	-economic -political -openness -fight corruption -capacity -cost-cutting	Cost/economic Core/non-core Affordability Capacity Work habits	-cost savings -political Openness/ -fight corruption -openness -capacity
Who made outsourcing decisions	Chief Executive KATH management Department heads	-CMB -CE -MoH -funding source	Central management Heads of department	-CMB -CE -HoDs	CE CMB HODs Procurement department	-Procurement department -CE -CMB
Who should have made decision	Satisfied with those involved	-HoDs -OK	We've involved the right people	-OK	Central management Procurement dept Departmental heads	-HoDs
Assessing outsourcing performance	Cost savings Rising costs -Corrupt practices	-savings -expertise Saved costs Ok/Good Successful	Improved services Rising costs Corrupt practices	-good -expertise -service quality	Increasing costs Quite successful -Corrupt deals	-wide choice of service providers -cost savings
Autonomy of managers	Semi-autonomous No financial autonomy Autonomy with accountability	-yes -account- Able	Semi autonomous No financial autonomy	Semi autonomous Largely autonomous	Only quite autonomous Quite discretionary	Autonomy with responsibility/ Accountability
Issues and challenges emerging	Retrenchment issues Union revolts -cost rise	-labour issues -contractual - weak HODs	Uncertainties of procurement Higher costs Labour issues	-contract issues -labour issues -procurement issues	corrupt practices in contract-awarding Unqualified contractors bidding for projects	-procedures/ results conflict -contractual Issues
Strategies for dealing with issues/challenges	Reorganise retrenched workers into company Decouple departments to cost centres who take up outsourcing contracts	-streamline contracts -reorganised/ absorb laid off staffs -use consultants	Opening up tenders to greater competition Undergoing procurement course	-retrain staffs -increase competition -compensate laid off staffs -use consultants	Organising procurement course Streamlining contracts to avoid corrupt practices	-streamline contracts -balance results with procedures -use consultants
Lessons learnt, conclusions	Private practice: model for public sector Mindset change required Financial autonomy, a necessary condition	-HODs need play greater role -corruption consequence/ cause of outsourcing	Outsourcing has resulted in better worker attitudes Solved supervisory problems Corruption needs addressing	-decisions to involve HoDs -HoDs need attitude/ mindset change for progress	Corruption needs a second look Devolution to mid mgt problematic Procedures need following	Outsourcing -cant fail -encourages transparency involve HODs in decision making

5.1 What issues do managers encounter?

As explained in chapter four, this question is subdivided into issues relating: rationale for outsourcing; involvement in decision-making about outsourcing; and issues relating to the problematic nature of NPM and of the local context. I treat these in turn.

5.1.1 *Issues relating to rationale for outsourcing*

The analyses below are based on Table 5.1, which displays responses from each of the senior managers to the first set of research questions on issues relating to the rationale for outsourcing. The decision to outsource the Installation/Maintenance function was underlined by a number of factors, including cost and efficiency considerations; core or non-core considerations and general flexibility issues; ensuring openness, reducing corruption to restore public trust in the hospital; and addressing capacity needs. There were also political and ideological influences. The major rationale for outsourcing this function appears to be very much to address capacity related issues, which might of course lead to some cost savings, as it would help transfer some financial risk to the service provider. Therefore, while attaining cost-efficiency surely remains one of the benefits of outsourcing, this was not the central objective of outsourcing the Installation and Maintenance case:

The reasons we outsourced a function like installation of medical systems to an external provider for example, is that equipment we simply didn't have the required number of experts. In addition, equipment were procured or installed wrongly by our own staff. Outsourcing these functions, we believed, would help us both to access the right experts, and also transfer the risk associated with buying wrong equipment or installing them

incorrectly, and the huge maintenance cost to the service provider, who are already experts, so they wouldn't have the problems we have (Chief Executive, KATH).

This shortage of experts required to install and maintain medical equipment was further heightened by the general lack of spare parts of medical equipment in the country. Managers contended that prior to outsourcing this function, the hospitals were shopping around for spare parts; often ordering wrong parts, which were returned at extra costs. Thus the decision to integrate these three functions, previously handled separately by the procurement department (ordering the parts), engineering department (installing the parts), and maintenance department (maintaining broken down equipment) into a single function and outsource it was seen as providing a 'one-stop-shop' solution for the hospitals' capacity-related problems. Consequently the local representatives of medical equipment dealers such as Philips Medical Systems, Elesca Engineering, and Hospital Engineering signed contracts with KBu for the supply, installation and regular maintenance of medical/hospital equipment. By transferring the task of assessing the appropriateness of equipment [before purchase] to the supplier who now bears the risk of returning inappropriate medical equipment for replacement, senior management believed this arrangement has saved the hospitals a substantial financial burden, besides freeing Engineering and Maintenance departments of enormous workload to allow them to concentrate on supervising the service managers. A senior manager's summary:

Actually, it's a combination of factors. First of all, the current government is in favour of outsourcing; and their policy is to reduce the size of the government sector and allow private sector expansion. Basically the idea is to explore the possibility of outsourcing functions not core business. Although we anticipated some cost savings, the main rationale for outsourcing the Installation/Maintenance function was to furnish our hospital with

experts able to handle and maintain our complex machines effectively because we just didn't have the required number of experts we needed. Additionally, from our hospital's viewpoint the process of securing financial clearance to hire staff is cumbersome. There are also efficiency considerations because due to lack of effective supervisors there's often low output. We in management held this view, which we discussed with the departments...

(Director, Administration, KATH)

Some senior managers felt in the circumstances government saw outsourcing as the most convenient option to beef up capacity in these health institutions due to its (government's) inability to offer health professionals attractive remuneration packages to retain full time staffs:

Unfortunately, due to unattractive public sector salaries, it's been hard to get the experts to work with us, and the government thinks outsourcing is the way out. Besides they think the responsibility for managing most employees should be taken off government's head, and this has been the general trend in most public organisations. But we could actually have decided to not outsource in spite of government's strong commitment. But we, as an institution found it helpful to outsource for several reasons including access to specialists we would have been unable to pay on a permanent basis (Chief Executive, KBu).

To other senior managers the political drive for outsourcing is equally strong, tending in fact, to dominate all other considerations. Additionally, outsourcing in general was viewed as a means of increasing stakeholder participation in the provision of public services, a means of avoiding or minimizing corruption by increasing openness:

.....the central issue is to eradicate or at least minimise corruption in the system and bring some sanity and transparency in the management of public funds and state projects because if the client manages it alone there could be manipulations so employing consultants brings some sanity to the system (Procurement Manager, KBu).

It is apparent from senior management viewpoint that the need to cut cost by strategically addressing the capacity challenge is a strong underlying factor of outsourcing. I would argue towards the end that one effect of this cost-motivated rationale for outsourcing is the intensification of cost control measures that has serious implications for the degree to which professional middle managers could exercise their discretionary power over a range of issues in the delivery of their duties. In the next section I turn to the analysis of professional management views.

With respect to cleaning, senior management reckons that the major reason for outsourcing is to deal with bad worker habits. They argue that such bad attitudes to work called for continuous supervision from managers, which led to unnecessary waste of time on peripheral issues, diverted from their core activities. Outsourcing this function then was seen as a matter of convenience, rather than resulting from the need to beef up capacity, a point confirmed by PMMs later in the analysis.

5. 1. 2 *Issues relating to decision making*

Senior managers agree that Chief Executive and CMB make outsourcing decisions. My concern here is to examine whether and to what extent middle managers are involved in making such decisions which could be described as both strategic and operational to the

extent that they affect the practice of their profession. Responses to these questions seem contradictory at first sight when considered in line with the decision making process outlined on **Table 5.0**, where final decision-making authority rests with CMB to which both senior management and PMMs belong. For instance, as can be seen from **Table 5.1** in response to the question, ‘who makes outsourcing decision?’, senior managers mention CMB and HODs, while in **Table 5.2** all PMMs agree outsourcing decisions are made by senior managers, thus suggesting a further ambiguity and contradictory. To address this ambiguity, I followed with another question: ‘who should have made outsourcing decision?’ response to which displayed further apparent contradictions. Senior managers expressed satisfaction about those involved in making decisions, suggesting no further need for other persons’ involvement. However some senior managers concluded that the active involvement of HODs in making outsourcing decisions would be more helpful:

I think at the time, we involved the right people in the decision to outsource, and I can’t think of anybody or group of persons we should have involved who we didn’t. But having now completed a number of projects, ...and with the experiences from these projects,... if you ask me, I’d tell you it’d be wise to involve the heads of department because they’re directly involved with implementing the decisions we make (Procurement Manager, KBu).

In short, senior managers think PMMs were involved in decision-making although the latter do not think so. This constitutes a significant source of disagreement between senior and professional management.

5. 1. 3 *Issues related to the nature of NPM and peculiarity of research context*

From **Table 5.1** senior managers seem to be greatly concerned with issues relating to contracts, cost, ineffectiveness of HODs and labour/union challenges. To them, the expected cost savings could hardly be realized as the complexity of contractual agreements leaves ample room for exploitation and manipulation by contractors, necessitating further expenditure to mediate the relationship between the organization and the outsourcing contractors. Such costs come in the form of fees paid to contractors, training staffs on procurement, contracting and contract management. They expressed surprise at the elusiveness of the anticipated cost savings, which they partially blamed on the inefficiency of HODs. Senior managers expected middle managers to be effective in managing the organization's contractual relationship with the service providing organizations at the operational level, and expressed disappointment that this could not be realized. A few interview excerpts are provided below:

We realized our cost curves began to rise, surprisingly after outsourcing....Smart contractors were taking undue advantage to exploit us. Then we decided to take our procurement department through the outsourcing contract and procurement processes and procedures, and now we can see some positive signs but they are gradual, and even that came at an extra cost. One problem was also with HODs, who are supervisors of such projects; they have little business background so speaking the private man's language was tough for them. Some do not seem to care much what the contractors come to do and how they do it. This is one area we need some more work. We also had to deal with union issues because some job losses were involved, and all this involves costs! Therefore when you think you've saved cost here, you also realise you incur some cost here and there, you know (Chief Executive, KBu)?

Firstly, it appears cost has risen quite sharply especially during and shortly after the first few months of outsourcing. Outsourcing in general involves a number of related costs incurred through our ignorance of the outsourcing process, apart from that incurred on various consultants. Moreover, it's a complex procedure having to work with a private firm. So although we thought we had a strong case to save cost through outsourcing, this has either failed to materialize or it's been practically difficult to measure. Secondly, the challenge involved calling your staff and telling them, 'I'm sorry but you have to go, when some of them have been working here all their working lives with all loyalty. That was one problem HR faced. But we had to do that; it was one of my worst working experiences and it was painful because you're entirely aware of the economic situation and the high rate of unemployment in the country... (Director Administration, KBu)

5.2.0 *Professional Middle Managers*

Responses from middle managers to the first research question are discussed under the three subheadings as in the case of senior managers.

5.2.1 *Issues relating to the rational for outsourcing*

As indicated by **Table 5.2** below, there is some difference between views expressed by senior management and PMMs on rationales for outsourcing, a major difference being that unlike senior managers, more professional middle managers felt the decision to outsource has received a strong political impetus and motivation. Like senior managers, they saw the necessity of outsourcing some of the hospital functions not so much as a way of saving cost but as a form of survival strategy or a way of convenience. They share the concerns of

senior managers over the challenge of getting the right calibre of technical experts as well as spare parts for their medical equipment. The two categories of managers therefore converge over the need to outsource this function in a number of ways. While not debating the necessity to address the capacity challenge professional middle management contended that ideological/political reasons and reducing staff size had strong influence on the decision to outsource:

Remember the government think they are fed up with employees' bad attitudes towards work. There is huge spending here yet our people don't do the work well; if you bring in the private man they don't give you headache. For medical experts and other hospital engineers we don't have many of them in house, and there's no way we're going to be able to pay them as full time employees. Moreover much of what they do is on ad hoc basis-not required all the time; so management believes they can call them when they need them, and save some money for other things as well (Technical Manager, KATH).

Some professional managers argue that the necessity for outsourcing this function was rendered compellingly stronger by the need to pass the cost and inconvenience of training experts to procure, install and maintain medical equipment, as well as by the complexity of and rate of risk involved in current medical equipment in use:

The more complex the equipment the more likely you are to engage the services of the supplier for the provision of the related technical service (preparation of site, installing equipment, maintaining equipment, etc). Again, the higher the risk level the more likely they are to be given out on contract. Moreover there's a very limited market for medical equipment in Ghana, so it's not viable for the supplier to train people to man technical equipment, so if you outsource it to these providers you're helping to sustain the market and keep the supplier in business as well. So there are numerous factors responsible for our

decision to outsource. About 99% of the technology we use here is produced abroad, and so without this arrangement, it'll be practically impossible to source and maintain our equipment (Biomedic Manager, KBu).

It can be argued on the basis of the foregoing that a number of factors including the easiness of sourcing the equipment, the risk level of the equipment, the complexity of the technology involved; the size of the local market for the equipment, and the cost of training, motivating and retaining qualified staffs to man the equipment jointly influenced the decision to outsource. With few exceptions both levels of management have a reasonable degree of agreement over the necessity to outsource and the rationale for outsourcing. From interview analysis, the need to access technical expertise, rather than a desire to reform an inefficient workplace composed of unproductive and despondent staffs with negative work habits, becomes the strongest pointer to outsourcing decision this function.

Table 5.2 Installation & Maintenance (Professional Middle Managers)

Research question	Bio Manager			Est Manager			Bus Manager			Main manager		
	KATH	K' Bu		KATH	K' Bu	(RIM) -	KATH	K' Bu	KATH	K' Bu	KATH	K' Bu
Reasons for outsourcing	Not clear Likely private agenda -source of funding	-cost -expertise -complexity/ -risk level of equipment -senior mgt -central mgt -administrators -consultants -HoDs -end-users -professionals		work habits Supervision problems	-fashion (RIM) - cost/ -worker attitudes Capacity -CE -CMB -senior management -HoDs -doctors		-Capacity -Worker attitude -Source of funding	lack of spare parts worker attitudes capacity shortage	Worker attitudes Supervision problems Hidden agenda			
Who made outsourcing decisions	CMB CE			Source of funding KATH central management			CMB CE Procurement funding HoDs End-users: Consultants	source of funding CE CMB	CMB Source of funding			
Who should have made decision	End-user Head of affected department			HoDs Head-Estate Department				HoDs end users	Head-Maintenance Department Head-Estate department No political interference in organisation			
Assessing outsourcing performance	Waste of resources Fulfillment of private/hidden agenda	-rising cost due to consultants -access to expertise		Ethical issues surfaced Projects abandoned Insistence on low cost bred poor quality work Semi-autonomy False autonomy No political interference	-not the best -better services -some savings		Good due to competition Service available	wasted resources wrong parts used- HoDs not contacted	Not bad Reservations about success			
Autonomy of managers	Limit to my autonomy Limited access to resources	-semi autonomous			Semi autonomous Restricted autonomy		No political influence My views ignored	semi autonomous not allowed discretion	Not autonomous False autonomy			
Issues and challenges emerging	-restricted autonomy -resource access -Frustration -Not allowed to prove your skills expertise not recognised/used -dictate task/method -HRs not used Suggestions withdrawal relating past experience Reasserting professional self pinpointing weakness	decline in professional autonomy -collegiate regulation administrator interfere -cost/quality conflicts -HODs by-passed		Mgt/prof conflicts Cost/quality conflicts My views ignored Delays Corruption Ethics Process/results conflict Cant speak mind Shoddy projects HoDs by-passed Withdrawal Withhold knowledge/advice Reasserting importance Employing failed projects to reassert indispensability	-not consulted -treated like machines -blamed falsely -seen as rubber stamp -HoDs ignored		Cost/quality conflicts Mgt/prof conflicts success criteria cant speak mind Excluded from decision making	our knowledge not used pressure from doctors HODs ignored/by-passed by senior mgt	My decision ignored mgt/prof conflicts cost/quality conflict my views ignored Supervise projects we don't design Technical lapses Long procedures Labour issues			
Strategies for dealing with issues/challenges		refuse wrong equipment don't bend rules do exactly as trained to do		Mid- mgt involvement: success Ethics Labour-only outsourcing	suggest lobby do as told helps me to relax withdraw		suggestion Persuasion Withdrawal Pinpoint weakness	convincing them avoid talking go strictly by rules; blame rule makers in failure	suggestions Pinpoint loopholes withdraw/disengage Reasserting control Renegotiate worth in cost terms			
Lessons learnt, conclusions		need for professionals to service policy and implementation			-use our HRs -People work, not machines		Outsourcing solves capacity problem	HoDs have relevant knowledge involve HoDs consult subordinates:	Compare self/consultants Motivate people Use mid mgt knowledge Control can be exercised from below Stifling organisational knowledge is expensive			

5. 2. 2. *Issues relating to decision making*

This question investigates those making outsourcing decision and is intended to help ascertain the extent of PPMs' involvement in making decisions about outsourcing a given function, and selecting service providing firms to take over that function. As discussed in chapter three autonomy and discretion to professionals is measured partly by the areas or issues over which they possess and exercise decision making power. Thus, understanding the extent of professional middle managers' involvement in outsourcing decision making, it is expected, would give an indication of their discretion and autonomy.

Although professional middle managers (HODs) emphasized the importance of their involvement in decision making as prerequisite for successful outsourcing projects, interview data suggests managers other than HODs actually make such decisions. According to the governance structure the final decision on outsourcing should lie with CMB, and this has indeed been the case, as all managers interviewed affirmed. Obviously since CMB comprises HODs one would expect that they are practically part of this decision. However there is little evidence to support this claim as HODs felt the Chief Executive, senior management and project sponsors remain the major determinants of outsourcing decisions. Thus while senior managers argued HODs have been part of decision by reason of their membership to the CMB, HODs implied while part of CMB, their active involvement in such decisions has been appreciably minimal, if at all. One HOD (PMM) expressed it:

Central management thought they have the power so they made the decision to outsource and even went ahead to select which organisations get the contracts without seeking our opinion. However, HODs had to endorse it before it could be implemented. Ideally,

initiatives for such decisions should come from HODs who better understand the situation in their respective departments. They should have asked our views before making the decision but this was not the case (Technical Manager, KA).

Compared to their responses to the previous question the responses to this question (who else should have been involved in making outsourcing decisions) clearly elucidate the struggles of professional middle management over their supposed domain of authority. Here, senior managers expressed satisfaction with those involved and did not see the need to bring in other players. Senior managers were aware that although part of CMB middle management have not been actively involved in decision making, and felt this is ok although some of them saw the need to involve professional middle managers. Some HODs (note middle management and HODs are used interchangeably) actually felt even the non-managerial doctors and nurses should have been included in making decisions for outsourcing as the service providers would be working directly under the former. Two middle managers expressed their views:

I think the Head of Estates Department should have been part of this decision because the project is happening in our department but I'm sad to say, this has not been the case. How can you go seeking the views of consultants on decisions we could have made with ease and at no financial cost (Biomedic Manager, KATH)?

HODs felt they should have been involved in making outsourcing decisions. The lack of professional middle managers' involvement in active decision making raises a fundamental question: are middle managers active members of the decision making body (CMB), or do they make active input to CMB in the process of making decisions about outsourcing? It is

obvious the answer is in the negative. But the subject of involvement in decision making still remains a central issue of concern to middle managers as expressed below

In my opinion, HODs, and even the doctors and nurses who make use of the facilities to serve patients should have been involved in deciding on whether or not to outsource... but this has never been the case...anyway! That's what I think....I've always advocated that heads of the affected departments be part of the team that awards contract...What makes it complex is that although you (HOD) are not part of the decision to outsource or on who provides what services, you're required to be dealing with the contractor when they start the execution of the projects. This brings a number of problems (Estate manager, K'Bu).

Some suppliers do not have the capacity to train.... This is one source of conflict between us and those who make decisions on who to supply given medical equipment. If we're brought into the process we are able to assess and advice on which organizations are competent to train and which are not, but we are often left out of this process. This has resulted in certain equipment just lying idle because there are no experts to handle them and the supplier does not have the capacity to train our staffs to handle them (Biomedic Manager, KBu).

The analysis suggests one reason HODs are included in CMB might be to obtain legitimacy for CMB decisions; which could indeed be senior management decisions. In that sense it could be understood as a form of organizational involvement strategy with the objective to secure middle management support for and commitment to decisions. Essentially the subject of who gets involved in making decisions on outsourcing is one of considerable concern to middle managers who by virtue of their boundary-spanning roles, are required to serve as supervisors over external service contractors. It is apparent from the analysis

that while middle managers are represented on CMB, the final authority in making decisions about strategic organisational issues their input to the decision making process is only minimal if at all, and limited to ratifying rather than making actual decisions. Given this, one can possibly speculate that HODs' inclusion in CMB is as a strategy of cosmetic inclusiveness or participation by senior management sought to gain legitimacy for and commitment to their decisions.

The apparent senior management domination in decisions regarding outsourcing could give an indication of the extent to which outsourcing the function in question is viewed as a strategic or operational issue. It might be that senior management view this as strategic while PMMs view it as operational. On these assumptions, senior management would be acting in good faith by saying 'we have involved the right people' (Table 5.1) [because these are strategic decisions, and we have just involved the right people], and PMMs might be right by insisting that 'even HODs and doctors should be involved' [because these decisions, though considered strategic, do have a serious impact on our day-to-day practice]. Thus it is possible that the degree to which the task or functional area is considered a strategic could have effect on who gets involved in making decisions to outsource it. There are also exogenous factors such as government policy and source of funding that influence outsourcing decision.

5.2.3 Issues related to the nature of NPM and peculiarity of research context

The main objective of this section is to investigate how the conflicts between managerial values and professional values identified in chapter three are playing out in relationships between senior managers and professional middle managers (PMM) in these cases.

In response to the question of issues they encountered, middle managers (HODs) indicated these relate to their level of autonomy and discretion, and it appears this relates to the extent of their involvement in taking decision on both strategic, and to some extent, operational issues. There is a perceived restriction on their degree of autonomy over decision on whether or not to outsource a function, and over contractors to be awarded such contracts. They felt senior management ignored their viewpoints and by-passed them in making crucial decisions, which might require the active participation of the latter.

It is difficult to persuade senior management to seek our view before engaging in outsourcing projects. We supervise the execution of the projects so we need to be involved in planning the projects, designing the contracts and suggesting prospective service providers; we have been working with them and know those who work well. They need to look for people with good track record to execute the project, and we know these people. Nobody is saying don't outsource; what we are saying is that 'involve us in the decision because at the end of the day we are going to be responsible for the supervision of the execution (Maintenance Manager, KBu).

Not only did middle managers feel left out in strategic decisions; they felt their professional space has been overly taken up by administrators, who attempt to usurp their decision even on their (middle managers') day-to-day (operational) activities. As interview data suggests because senior managers and administrators lack the requisite professional knowledge which can be acquired only through continuous practice, they resort to excessive use of consultants at extra cost to the organization. Some of these issues identified about which middle managers are concerned relate to restrictions on their professional autonomy and discretion including not being actively involved in making crucial decisions; continuous conflicts between pursuing cost-efficiency strategies and

ensuring quality; conflicts between emphasis on procedures and results; and their restricted access to the organization's resources. The interview transcripts suggest middle managers are concerned that their views on new initiatives are either not sought or ignored altogether; they are denied the free hands necessary to make simple decisions regarding the way they do their work; and they lack the level of financial autonomy which they require to perform effectively in their roles especially in emergency situations. The following quotes represent PMMs' portrayal of senior managers:

They don't listen; when you listen you act. They ask you to bring your grievances, you write a beautiful report; they file it and you don't hear anything again. So you sit down and watch them perform! The boss is always right but when you hold back your expertise and something gets wrong then they later find out they are wrong but wouldn't accept they are wrong because they can't be wrong. We belong to the same professional associations as some of the consultants they contract to tell them what we have always told them; so you ask, do they just want the advice from the consultants or there is a hidden agenda somewhere. I've tried to persuade them that some maintenance work must not be outsourced 'cos' there's no point for it but they go ahead and outsource them (Maintenance Manager, KBu).

But the central issue is that we want to be left alone to work as professionals and be held accountable for the outcome of our decision. Often the main cause of conflicts is the difference in knowledge between service managers and service providers. Institutional practice is technology; those who do not practice at this level lack that technology, yet they wish to dictate what should be done at the hospitals at any given time. How can you effectively manage something you have been out of touch with for a long time? When it

happens that way, they tend to engage a number of consultants, which all increase the costs they think they are trying to save (Biomedic Engineering Engineer, KBu)?

Professional middle managers resent this usurping of their position by senior managers and consultants on issues requiring technical and professional knowledge and experience. This is mainly because apart from the extra cost, the indiscriminate use of consultants also leads to inappropriate decisions being taken. Another issue of concern for PMMs relates to senior managers' undue interference. There are two possible explanations for this. The first is a possible corrosion in trust in middle managers' integrity and capacity to do things rightly and effectively. The second is a possible financial benefit or a form of rent-seeking attached to contracts for which there is a craving. Such views are expressed:

They (senior managers) always want to identify themselves with whatever is going on but they don't need to; we'll give them a report eventually. So the professional element (failing to leave the professionals with little interference) has always been the central issue. As biomedical engineers we base our assessment of the choice of equipment on the type of service we render, not simply because you (hospital administration) have brought us a list of equipment you think might be good for us. It's not as if we don't know what to do or someone would just get up and do what they want; the type and level of service we're required to provide are clearly specified. So I don't see why they fail to leave us to operate as professionals (Biomedic Engineering Engineer, K'Bu).

There are several health centres across the country, which lack facilities and expertise simply because the decision to cite them was made without the health professionals. Sometimes, they bring their own consultants simply because they always want to benefit from the project. They're probably afraid that if the professionals were allowed to manage

these projects, the money would go to them. One of the biggest problems we have now is the distinction between service provision and policy formulation. MoH is charged with responsibility for policy formulation while the GHS and agencies are for service provision. The policy makers can't effectively determine where a specific health facility should be located (Estate Manager, KBu, emphasis, mine).

Certain conflicts within the reform agenda also became evident in the sense that the senior managers' increased emphasis on cost cutting strategies meant that quality had to be sacrificed for low costs. There was also considerable confusion over whether to focus on procedures or outputs or both. It appears that while senior management had a result-oriented outlook, their mistrust in middle managers made them tend to focus disproportionately on procedures as they attempted to be part of nearly every procedure middle managers go through. Thus senior management were found increasing control from the centre rather than granting PMMs discretionary decision making power regarding the day-to-day practice of their profession:

They're only concerned with cutting costs, and have forgotten our basic objective is to provide quality health system that the public can trust. Now you can't see the difference between this hospital and other private hospitals. There's also 'confusion over results and procedures'. When they introduced the new changes, we're told to focus on set targets. But people began to do things their own way ...so management decided to intensify regulatory procedures. Now too many procedures, that lead to delays; management wouldn't leave us alone to practice as professionals,...controls everywhere...you're treated like a shop-floor worker...somebody decides what you should and specify how you should do it every, step along the way...but we're believed to be professionals! (Maintenance Manager, KATH).

5.3 Coping strategies employed by managers

In this section I investigate the various ways the managers studied responded to their encountered challenges by answering the question: what coping devices do managers employ in responding to the issues they encountered? In responding to these issues middle management employed a number of strategies, which were generally indirect rather than confrontational, and occur at the micro rather than macro level of the organization. These include offering suggestions, (i) insisting that the right thing (from middle managers' perspective) be done; (ii) pointing out shortfalls or weaknesses in case of project failures, (iii) doing as told; and (iv) not bending rules. While few managers responded to the issues by employing conventional resistance strategies such as direct verbal confrontation; offering suggestions; and pointing out mistakes to senior managers, others resort to indirect strategies of withdrawal and disengagement with senior management, choosing instead to concentrate on their profession. Yet still others decided to take active part in reforms and are able to both influence the reforms and draw attention to the inherent weaknesses in the design of reforms. The quote below exemplifies professionals' intelligent withdrawal:

The fact is that whether I'm involved in this or that project is actually immaterial because it does not affect how much I get paid, so why struggle over something which would end up making enemies for you when it wouldn't benefit you personally? I just come, do my work, and go...I'll rather concentrate on my profession (Technical Manager, K'Bu)

In the quote below the manager refused to use his initiative in responding to an emergency situation, by holding back his expertise as a way of expressing his displeasure at being

denied access to resources to which outsourced service providing managers have unrestricted access. He, by this sought to employ the unresolved problem to draw attention, if indirectly, to the flaws in senior management's management style. He then repositions himself in the organization as 'someone with power by reason of his knowledge', which he withheld:

I have no control over decisions or resources. At a time, there was a problem; there was work going on at the theatre at a weekend; we ran out of oxygen; you called the private man, he wasn't there...and what I'm not supposed to touch, I wouldn't touch, and whoever was supposed to touch wasn't around, so the work wasn't done.. (Biomedic Engineering Manager, KATH).

In the following quote, the professional middle manager negotiates his position in the organization, positioning himself as both a fund-managing head of department and a medical professional, but quickly and clearly draws the border line when his managerial requirements come counter to his professional role and standards. For this manager, the pressure from senior management to work with a tight budget conflicts with his commitment to patient welfare. In the circumstances he allows his professional commitment to overrule his managerial objective. He is thus able to create a greater space for himself (as a professional whose foremost loyalty is to his profession) outside of that created by senior management (a budget holding head of department who must comply with rules).

This is the only area where we sometimes clash. I have been trained first and foremost as a medical expert to help save lives. When my technicians bring requests, I know those that are realistic. The fact that I'm trying to manage my funds does not mean I should sacrifice

quality for low cost and compromise my professional standards. We need to save cost but not at the expense of lives. My first responsibility is to the sick people. I see this work as my personal ministry and I'm not going to 'shut up' so that someone who wants to make money does their own thing (Technical Manager, KATH).

Several other strategies are used. The first is what I describe as *spectating* or *watching them act*, exemplified by the quote below:

They ask you to bring your grievances, you write a beautiful report; they file it and you don't hear anything again. So you sit down and watch them perform!....We belong to the same professional associations as the consultants they contract to tell them what we have always told them for free; so you ask, do they just want the advice from the consultants or there is a hidden agenda somewhere (Estate Manager, KATH).

Other strategies include simply keeping quiet or avoiding talking, and waiting until things get out of control:

I used to go to senior management frequently with grievances and suggestions for improvement but noted they were simply ignoring my viewpoints....so I decided to be quiet. I do just what I'm allowed to do. They've defined for me what to do, and I'm going to ensure I do just that and *very well too*. As a professional no one should dictate to me what I should do and how I should go about my work but that's exactly what they've managed to do most of us.... If something goes wrong, you don't blame me, you blame the rules you've put in place (Maintenance Manager, KATH)

Yet another strategy is that professional middle managers decide to go by the rules instead of debating or contending them. By this strategy they are able to draw attention to inconsistencies and ambiguities in the system of rules

They tell you, you can't do this or that, so you do what you're told to do, say what you're allowed to say...just ensure you don't bend the rules because that's the way they want you to behave. I just make sure I do the work the way they want me to do it. Yes, because when there's a problem you don't get the blame but those who make the law (Biomedical Engineering Manager, KATH).

As I've said although we're not been involved in the planning we're required to supervise their execution, and if things go wrong they think we fail to supervise properly. But how can you blame me when you don't allow me to use my discretion in making simple decisions about how I do my work? I'll do what you've allowed me to do and cannot be blamed for failure (Estate Manager, KBu)

Some other PMMs decided to cooperate with senior management to ensure the system runs smoothly in the interest of their profession, and people's lives. They explain although they're disappointed with senior management's behaviour, they're still committed to their profession, which they would not trade for anything because that'd place the health of people at great risk.

...oh, it's been rough! But often, you simply need to cooperate because you know the likely results ...after all, it's about people's lives; it's about our profession. I mean it's hurting and frustrating when someone who thinks by virtue of their positions they know better than you, decide to tell you how you should do your

work but because its' about lives I'm careful what I do...(Biomedical Engineering manager, KATH).

Therefore the object of PMMs' their adopted strategies, it appears, is to demonstrate that the organisation would struggle to reach its goals without them. For instance, doing as told', far from being a display of passive compliance with company procedures, has an intent of drawing attention to the power that professional middle managers' possess in the organisation. By this tool professional middle managers hope to reassert their importance rather than succumb to managerial pressures. Although this might be an unintended consequence, such strategies could be conceptualised as sabotage against the attainment of organisational goals. In this case relationships between professionals and managers have been seen as characterised by conflicts. In all this, one message from professionals to senior managers becomes apparent: we have knowledge and experience, which if properly harnessed rather than ignored, could save the organisation millions in funds; however, when ignored, the outcomes can be devastating! The following quotes illustrate this.

As I said, the contracts are designed and awarded without me but when they run into problems, I'm the first person to contact. I used to be very concerned but I came to see that the fact that they contact me means they know I cannot be ignored at all times. Initially I thought I wasn't competent but when they started complaining to me whenever things went wrong I realized it was not because I was not competent. Now I see that no matter what, they will come to me when there are problems (Estate Manager, KBu).

At first I used to be bitter, which was affecting my attitude to work. You know, I believe in doing things right. But it came to a point and I decided I wasn't going to allow this to get over me; I wouldn't allow the pressures from my job to disturb my attitude to my

profession. So I decided to be quiet. I do just enough of what I'm allowed to do...and wait for those thought qualified to make decisions about my work (Technical Manager, KBu)

5.4 Cleaning Cases: Background

5.5. What issues do managers encounter?

In this section, the procedure followed in analysing the Installation/Maintenance cases is followed except that the views of senior managers are not included here, as already explained. I now turn to the first major research question.

5.5.1 *Issues relating to rationale for outsourcing*

From the perspectives of both senior managers (SMs) and PMMs economic factors of cutting cost, consideration of what function is considered core or non-core, and the need to address negative worker attitudes emerge as the most common of the many rationales for outsourcing. All management categories generally agreed that the cleaning function is not core to the central role of providing healthcare to the nation, and hence the possibility to outsource this function. Senior managers and PMMs agreed that outsourcing the cleaning function was necessitated by the need to address negative work habits rather than capacity shortage. It was generally agreed that political pressure not only influenced but also created the space within which the decision to outsource cleaning was circumscribed. Only few managers felt the decision to outsource cleaning was one of fashion. From the perspective of senior managers there are multiple rationales for outsourcing, which include the transfer of risks to the outsourcing providing organisations. Such risks involve

responsibilities and demands of maintaining full time permanent staffs [sick leave/sick pay, maternity leave and holiday pays]. Other rationales include transferring to the external service providers, responsibility for both the supply of some fixed assets such as cleaning gadgets, and managing permanent staffs including dealing with negative and poor worker attitudes.

The entire Environmental Sanitation Department-the central body that oversees the cleaning function-was reconstituted into a skeletal staff made up of few managers, supervisors and staffs maintained. Two private companies were then contracted to take responsibility for cleaning some departments including the Polytechnic and the Out-Patients Department of the main hospital.

As in other instances, managers and workers from the private cleaning companies while not hospital employees are monitored by the respective HODs. In principle, HODs are empowered to refuse endorsement of payment to any service company whose quality of work they judge to fall short of hospitals' required standards. Their role also include ensuring the availability of cleaning disposables which the service providers require as well as dealing with issues requiring urgent attention in ensuring the smooth operation of the hospitals. The major aim among others is to free the respective heads of department from daily routine supervision of their permanent staff, which some respondents claimed was a drain on their time and prevented them from focusing on their core responsibilities.

Table 5.3 below presents a summary of responses from PMMs to all the questions posed. There is considerable agreement between and among the various managers interviewed that cost considerations and poor worker attitudes are among the major reasons for outsourcing cleaning. For senior management who consider cleaning as non-core function that can be

handled by external service providers, core or non-core considerations were paramount to outsourcing decision. PMMs and service managers' views converge over the fact that outsourcing decisions are largely influenced by the economics of flexibility as a normative form of management and HR practice in the public sector. Overall, the desire to cut costs together with what I call the move to 'rationalise an inherently large, unproductive permanent workforce' stands tall among the rationales for outsourcing

There's an attitudinal problem facing government work...Take our catering department for example. For a whole year they were running at a loss, so at a point I decided to outsource it. Immediately we said we wanted to outsource, that month, we started making profits. But we said we were bent on outsourcing it so we advertised it and got it outsourced. The same management took it up but has been making profits since (Chief Executive, KBu)?

Relieving our hospital of the intricacies of keeping a permanent staff: sick leaves, maternity leave, holiday pays, etc was one reason we outsourced; there's savings to benefit from! Another reason was the quality of work. Sometimes cost might not be the main issue but if outsourcing help improve quality of work, and ensures the work is done on time, and according to specifications, why not go in for it (Director of Administration, KATH)

Table 5.3 Response from Professional Middle Managers- Cleaning

Research question	Env. San. Manager		Est Manager		Nurses Manager		Poly Manager	
	KATH	K' Bu	KATH	K' Bu	K' Bu	KATH	K' Bu	KATH
Reasons for outsourcing	Work attitudes Supervision problems	-ideological/ -funding source -core/non-core -worker attitudes	work habits Supervision problems	-fashion (RIM) - cost/ -worker attitudes	-not sure -core/non-core	Bad worker attitudes Supervisory problems	ideological -economic -worker attitudes -capacity -core/non-core	Ideological/ political -Reduce staff size -Worker attitudes -Cut cost
Who made outsourcing decisions	Central management CMB	senior mgt -myself -central mgt	Source of funding KATH central management	-CE -CMB -senior management	-senior mgt -central mgt -we ratified, not make, decision	-CMB -Senior management	-myself -senior management -CMB	-HoDs -Poly mgt -CMB -Head, Sanitation
Who should have made decision	Heads of department	respective HoDs	HoDs Head-Estate Department	-HoDs -doctors	-Right people involved Senior -CMB	-Central management	-HoDs like myself	-Right people were involved
Assessing outsourcing performance	Cleaner hospital Changed worker attitudes I needn't supervise Focus on core	-successful -neater hospital improved services	Ethical issues Projects abandoned Insistence on low cost bred poor quality work	not the best -better services -some savings	-successful -cleaner hospital -less hassle/ supervision	-Mixed outcomes -Access to technology	-very successful -changed attitudes	-Gone ok so far -Cleaner Poly -We don't struggle to get Poly clean
Autonomy of managers	-Semi-autonomous -Little autonomy	somehow -no autonomy for most HoDs	Semi-autonomy largely autonomous No political interference	-Limited decision making power	-not autonomous	-Not much autonomy	-To some extent -Make some decisions	-A good degree of autonomy -Decentralised -Separate Budget
Issues and challenges emerging	-Not part of decision -Lack of trust -Restricted access to organisational information	retrenchment issues -HoDs not part of Decision making -HoDs' knowledge/ experience not utilized	Conflicts: Mgt/prof Cost/ quality Process/ results viewpoint rejected HoDs by-passed Delays corruption cant speak mind Shoddy projects;	HoDs ignored -not consulted mechanised -blamed falsely -seen as rubber stamp	-striking service providers create problem -senior mgt take us for granted	-Can't think of any	-conflicts over cost/ quality	-Disagreement over cost/ quality
Strategies for dealing with issues/ challenges	Being careful suggesting Performance assessments Anger/ frustration Being silent till things get wrong	use wisdom do as told-cooperate -don't talk confused	Withdrawal Reasserting importance Employing failed projects to reassert indispensability No confrontation	-suggest -lobby -do as told -helps me to relax -withdraw	just concentrate on my work speak to senior mgt -use reserve/ Bank staff - be own boss	N/A	-insisting the right thing is done. -no arguing -use your professional authority	-Iterating my viewpoints -Being vocal; not being quiet
Lessons learnt, conclusions	outsourcing solves attitude problems CMB/mid mgt collaboration don't bypass HoDs	need to learn everybody's role need to be respected	Mid- mgt aided projects successful Ethics Labour-only outsourcing	-use our HRs -People work, not machines	effective communication elf discipline, not arguments	effective supervision: Public/ private difference	Use organization resources -outsourcing: norm for public sector	Consult HODs worker attitudes Outsourcing improves quality

The possibility of using outsourcing as a strategy for addressing the attitudinal problem among public workers was clearly iterated by a senior manager below:

Outsourcing of health support services has become necessary due to the poor working habits in Ghana especially in the public sector. In the civil service, it's a taboo to fire an employee..., it's difficult and expensive to hire and fire. We've inherited a huge mass of incompetent staff and we simply can't do much with or about them. For instance when our former employees-redeployed to private contractors-come back to work here on contractual basis their attitude was entirely different to when they were working here as permanent employees (Chief Executive, KATH)

Supporting the same view some PMMs conceded that it is through outsourcing that Ghanaian public workers would have appreciation for the concept of contract, especially the employment contract:

People's attitude towards government in Ghana is wrong therefore bringing in the private sector saves government some money; people can only earn their wages. I seriously believe outsourcing would bring a legal face to the working and employment relationship so that the workers don't simply lazy about when they should be working because for the private person, 'no work, no pay' (Estate Manager, KATH).

You know they (workers in private organisations) are not like our own staffs, who report late for work, sit down, chat, calculate lotto, and close before it's time yet expect full pay at the end of the month. They know if they don't work, and properly too, they wont get full pay. The difference is clear. What amazes me is the sudden change in attitude of our own staffs joining such organizations. They work even if they are not being supervised (Environmental Sanitation Manager, KBu).

But there are many other reasons why cleaning was outsourced as the quote below by a senior manager suggests:

We made the decision to outsource because we looked at the cost/benefit analysis as well as what is core and non-core to us. We noticed we would save costs by outsourcing some functions. The other question is 'is it our core business? If it's not our core business, can somebody do it better and cheaper? Then we looked at all the numerous problems we have faced. So we looked at quality of work, and also the affordability of the service and availability of the expertise (Procurement Manager, KATH)

Another manager feels outsourcing takes a load of unnecessary responsibilities including supervision off their head in order to concentrate on their core duties:

You take a lot load off your head; you then have time to concentrate on the major core issues. For instance we no longer spend our working day supervising; we concentrate on our core role. Peripheral activities have been taken away leaving us to do the most important things. Outsourcing has come to stay (Environmental Sanitation Manager, KBu).

In summary, with few exceptions, cleaning was outsourced because: it was expected to save costs; improve employee attitudes; bring legal and contract face to public employment; take unnecessary load off hospital staffs and help focus on core duties; and serves as a form of rationalisation to ensure numerical flexibility.

5. 5.2 *Issues relating to organisational decision making*

Data from **Table 5.3** above suggests that middle managers attach great importance to organizational decision-making and wish to be active part of the process. I have said active part because while middle managers are, by virtue of their membership in CMB, part of decision-making, they are in practice not. However, compared to the Installation/Maintenance case, there are fewer instances of disagreement discontentment among PMMs with respect to their level of involvement in decision making as **Table 5.3** above suggests. For instance none of the Poly Managers in either hospital has any issues with respect to their decision making autonomy; on the contrary, they implied they possess a reasonable degree of decision making autonomy and discretion. While Nurse' Managers in both hospitals confirmed that most decisions were made by senior management, the former neither felt their professional domains were being beset by senior managers, who they thought was better placed to make decisions. Compared to the Installation/Maintenance case, there seems to be less disagreement between senior and professional management in the cleaning case.

5. 5.3 *Issues related to the nature of NPM and peculiarity of research context*

Interviewees expressed disappointing views on the new form of managerial governance and the challenges this presents to them especially to the extent that it defines the practice of their professional and their day-to-day activities. Compared to professionals from the Installation/Maintenance case however, PMMs seem to have fewer issues with regards to the restrictions on their discretion over decisions regarding their work. There is at least one way in which this apparently relatively reduced level of senior management control over

PMMs could be interpreted. It might mean that since the tasks being managed by cleaning managers are not those that require high-values skills to perform, one could argue, on the basis of Crozier's expert power theory (chapter three), that their area of task does not constitute an explicit domain of expert power. Hence, it is unlikely there would develop from, or be deployed by senior managers, another form of (restrictive or monitoring) power to curtail PMMs' power. Themes used in this analysis emerged entirely from a critical examination of these viewpoints although jargons from management literature were used to ground them. I also listened to the views of both senior management and private service providers. The analysis based on the display on Tables 5.3. For senior managers cost-related and contract-related issues seem to be their major preoccupation as manifested in the two quotes below:

There were procurement irregularities, and we had to go through the full procurement course because some defects were being detected in the contracting and procurement process. There were also some issues relating to costs. We had to advertise the jobs so there was some cost. The cost of the service, it appears that it's now higher than when it was being done in-house. So initially, it was costly...but we hope in the long run to save some costs (Chief Executive, KATH).

For now, not much apart from the fact that some contracts tend to be very complex and provide the ground for people indulging in unacceptable, corrupt practices, which eventually shoots costs up (Procurement Manager, KATH).

Other issues over which middle managers expressed concern include the conflicts over focusing on: procedures or results; costs and quality; and the centralization of control rather than decentralizing control to devolve greater powers to middle management as

senior managers draw towards greater degrees of centralization as became apparent from the following quote from a senior manager:

It makes the officers more accountable and it tries to reduce the use of discretion, which has been so dominant in the past system. People decide when to do what and by what method it should be done. This old system doesn't make the public confident in you (the public manager) in using their resources. The question is how judicious are you putting the taxpayer's money to use (Procurement Manager, KBu)?

This senior manager's perception of accountability is that it is achieved through reduced discretion to PMMs. In this case his interference in the work of the PMMs might not be interpreted as necessarily desiring to control them.

PMMs on the other hand argue that the process of financial decentralization has been far from adequate as senior managers intensify their control over them and tighten rather than loosen financial procedures as would be required for being innovative and making quick decisions. Others felt the undue emphasis on procedures rather than results does not make for effective attainment of results. One middle manager expressed his view below:

Our biggest headache is that the decentralisation process hasn't been complete; no financial decentralisation, resulting in long processing of payment. Still long bureaucratic trends...all these are thought to reduce corruption but then unfortunately they tend to increase corruption instead. Cutting down bureaucratic trends would tend to reduce the cost of contracts and consultants' fees (Environmental Sanitation Manager, KBu).

Another issue of concern relates to the restrictions, limitations and constraints introduced by the new managerial governance arrangements which have serious ramifications for their discretion over certain decisions not only as professionals but also as managers. For

instance, PMMs said they are often in conflicts with senior management over the issue of costs. A classic case relates to the fact that senior management tend to determine the maximum quantity of cleaning consumables, which should be used in a day. However, PMMs claimed although working with daily quotas could be useful, these could be hardly enforced as 'cleaning is done on demand' in the sense that messes are cleaned as and when they are made, not whether or not there are sufficient cleaning materials or detergents because it affects on the health of patients. One PMM remarked thus:

It's frustrating to know the right thing but realise your capacity to do it is being reduced because someone who controls the funds is now telling how you should do your work. These private people don't come with their own detergents and cleaning materials; we buy what they use apart from the cleaning gadgets because we found that's much cheaper. But they (senior management) always want to determine how much of what these service providers should use for cleaning; there's no point because we're here to do that. Then when an area is left unclean, you take the blame because it's is happening under your area (Environmental Sanitation Manager, KBu).

Although it might not be intentional of senior management to interfere with PMMs in the delivery of their duties, it appears the former's drive to save cost has often meant that all other considerations, including the perspectives of PMMs have got to be subordinated under the cost considerations as expressed below:

The source of conflict has been between management and the professional experts (HoDs) because senior management has always gone for the lowest bidder irrespective of their quality, which often creates a problem. Sometimes a contractor would be so desperate for contracts and would quote low figures just to win the contract. Often they abandon the

project in the middle or do shoddy work due to insufficient funds because under-quoted. Management and administrators are always aiming at minimising cost at any rate, not examining the possible effects of that on project quality (Estate Manager, KATH).

As another manager replied:

There's too much emphasis on cost; that is cost in immediate terms. In that case there's...I don't think I'm independent in taking decisions. They measure success purely in terms of cost; if they've been able to beat down cost then they've achieved their goal. The cost is central to most decisions (Estate Manager, KBu).

Often they don't seek our views on things we think we have experience in doing, and this has been very costly to us but I don't think they always realise it. For instance, recently, they decided to outsource the cleaning of a given department and I only got to know of it through an informal source, and raised an objection but this couldn't go far and it was outsourced. But now there are problems because it has been complained vital confidential information is being tampered with. Now they are seeking my opinion on how to handle it (Estate Manager, KBu)

But not all PMMs necessarily feel new governance arrangements at the managerial level present challenges to their operational effectiveness. The Poly Manager's observation below suggests that he has been instrumental in deciding on which areas in his department need to be outsourced:

I suggested the idea but of course senior management had to decide whether it was viable, but I think I was instrumental in making such a decision. But then something went wrong. They didn't seek my views when they were going to decide which organizations to contract. You know, initially they literally handpicked the companies but then they began to realize service quality was deteriorating and so they decided to allow other companies to

bid for the tenders, which brought some competition and improved quality, and in the process they sought my opinion, which was really good (Poly Manager, KATH)

The nurses' manager may be described as having obviously few, if any issues with senior management. However, making an objective assessment of her opinion is inhibited by the fact she remained or perhaps appeared quite reserved and appreciably withdrawn throughout the interview session. Again the fact of her gender (female-the only female interviewed) (with some exceptions the majority of Ghanaian women office holders do well to steer clear of organisational politics) compounded the issue. But laying all these contextual factors aside, in her view, senior management have got the power and mandate to take decision they consider prudent in the interest of the hospital, and so she has no reservations about this:

I think central management have the power so they made the decision but the heads of department had to accept it before it could be implemented. It would have been beautiful to ask of our opinion before making the decision though because ideally, initiatives for such decisions should come from the heads of department. But at the end of the day, they better understand the situation and the needs of the hospital, and I don't think I have a problem with that (Nurses' Manager, KATH).

With regard to service providing managers two major issues seemed to have exercised them: the apparent lack of entrepreneurship of PMMs reflected in their slow, non-business-like approach to their work, which run counter to the kind of orientation they (service providing managers) have to their work. For instance, asked what challenges they had experienced, one service manager replied:

They do seem to know exactly what to do but they don't seem to have the free hands they require, and they often appear rather slow. I mean we all know it's a public sector institution but I think things are changing all over now (Manager, City Janitorial, KATH).

A similar view was expressed:

Oh yes! The only thing, maybe it's really not a big issue, is that sometimes PMMs appear a bit slow as if they're not sure of the answers or about what to do... For instance, in my company, once you're a supervisor or manager you can do so many things and don't always need to consult. I think managers are there to solve problems, you know? What they do affect our work and our profitability (Manager, Bontu KBu).

In the following section, we turn to the last important question, which seeks to understand and conceptualise how managers, especially PMMs cope with, respond to or deal with the identified issues above.

5.6 Coping strategies and resistance techniques

From interview data and my critical personal observation a range of strategies that managers employ to responding to the issue have been identified. Although the main focus is on middle managers the responses of senior managers are important as this creates the space for comparison. Senior management strategies are almost exclusively aimed at improving the financial position of the organisation and include increasing competition for contracts, streamlining contracts for greater clarity, and retraining staffs to be more effective in negotiating contracts and procurement deals. Following is an excerpt from an interview with a senior manager:

We have basically redefined responsibilities and liabilities to both the outsourcing providers and KATH. Again we ensure our contracts specify who qualifies for what: in short a lot of streamlining of the contracts has occurred and I think although this seems to increase the processes and procedures across departments it has helped reduce the possibility for opportunistic behaviours by some of staffs who are looking for loopholes in the contracts or procurement procedures for profiteering at the expense of the hospital (Chief Executive, KATH).

Another senior manager remarked:

We had to go through the full procurement course because some defects were being detected in the contracting and procurement process (Director of Admin, KATH).

Within professional middle management direct engagement is a less preferred strategy; indirect and less straightforward strategies that avoid direct confrontation with senior management seemed to have found greater acceptance for a number of reasons, which I examine under the discussions chapter. For instance all middle managers employed at least one form of strategy that can be described as withdrawal. Only one middle manager accepted making suggestions to senior management; all others employed methods other than direct confrontation in registering their disapproval of new managerial governance arrangements. Others employed strategies that at first sight could be described as consenting to their own control although upon further scrutiny these can be seen as tools by which they sought to reassert their power in the organization. Thus by a means which looks like 'compliance', (a form of secret engagement) PMMs sought to display their power and reconstruct their identity. In several other quotes to follow PMMs employed

compliance as a means of creating a space for themselves within which they struggle to negotiate, reconstruct and reposition themselves in the organization as a formidable source of power, authority and control. Not all managers employ this strategy though:

We're on the ground; we know departments where the staffs don't work well. So when you're told at CMB meeting 'we've decided to outsource 'Physio' or say 'OPD', and have decided that Bontu Company should take over; clearly they are not asking for your opinion but are waiting to hear what you'd say, and *everybody would be careful*. So often we say that's good! Then along the way, maybe something goes wrong and then they inform you and you say you can't help. Then they know something has not gone well (Estate Manager, KATH).

Middle managers employed quite indirect strategies in responding to the encountered issues. For instance, as **Tables 5.3** indicates, just as in the case of installation and maintenance, PMMs use strategies such as 'doing as told, not bending rules, avoiding talking, reasserting their worth by means of a number of fine-grained negotiations, and pointing out weaknesses in projects after project failure to respond to or cope with issues they encounter.

What I've personally done is do my jobs as spelt out but nothing outside of what I've been asked to do. When things don't go well it is then that they know they need you. So I don't need to be involved in an argument to prove....I just need to concentrate on my work and do it well; I should not allow anybody to come and ask me why haven't you done this or that? I know my job (Nurses' Manager, KBu).

I do this by insisting the right thing is done. By insisting that goods purchased because they are cheap (against my advice) are not used! It's good to insist because there's a legal backing for you and I can't be sacked by senior management because I refuse to do what is ethically or medically unacceptable. You don't need to engage in argument: simply insist on your rights, period (Estate Manager, KBu)!

One PMM conceded that the way to ignore all this is to try to be one's own boss by being proactive, and doing what one needs to do without being told. With this, one would give no opportunity to anybody to control them

They know I know my work. I ensure the place is always neat...I think those who don't know what to do, they get told what to do...You must be your own boss or someone will boss you round: that's my principle. We all can't be senior management, otherwise who'd do the rest of the work? We all have something to offer; if everyone should concentrate on what they do, do it well senior management wouldn't find anybody to control again. Nobody can control me because I won't give them the chance in the first place (Nurses Manager, KBu).

This manager's response suggests that senior management's commitment to quality work could make them appear exceptionally controlling and bossy especially in circumstances where they are unsure of PMMs capacity to perform their duties independently. In that regard what might appear as the inclination to control could actually be underlain by the desire to see things done properly, and perhaps lack of trust in PMMs capacity to perform.

From the perspective of service managers, outsourcing is a strategy to effect culture change in public managers, and orient them towards strategic and cost-effective utilisation of

scarce national resource. While this viewpoint remains speculative, its importance is reinforced by the level of senior managers' expectation on PMMs.

5.7 Experiences of Service Providing Managers

For service providers public sector workers need a new orientation in the form of being efficiency-conscious, and they believe the move to outsource would help address this issue by bringing a business face to public sector management. While service providers could not categorically assign reasons for outsourcing, like senior managers they speculated cost considerations were likely to occupy centre stage:

If employees in the government sector especially those managers can be a little more concerned about what is going on...now they simply use what government gives them but if they were to be made to be responsible for a considerable proportion of their expenditure, I believe attitudes would change. This, for me, is one of the reasons government has turned to outsourcing; in general, private people work far better so I fully support this idea of outsourcing (Elesca Engineering Manager, KATH).

Another service manager expressed the sentiments that that suggests he sees outsourcing as the government's solution to the public sector crisis:

This is personal: I believe all the problems we've talked about are real but I also think there's some form of mismanagement here, and as a taxpayer I'm concerned that my tax money is being wasted in a way. The heads of department who are supposed to be like supervisors over what we do don't seem to care much about what happens here. Most of my colleagues have complained about this. I believe it's because of this that the

government and maybe the KBu central management are deciding to bring in private companies to help (Manager, Philips Medicals, KBu).

From the perspective of service managers, outsourcing is a strategy to effect culture change in public managers, and orient them towards strategic and cost-effective utilisation of scarce national resource. While this viewpoint remains speculative, its importance is heightened by the level of senior managers' expectation on PMMs.

These concerns from HODs were affirmed by responses from service providing managers who felt the main issue they encounter relates to PMMs' inefficiency, possibly resulting from their lack of autonomy/discretion demonstrated through their too much need for approval from senior managers. Some service providing managers clearly articulate this:

Just imagine this. I receive a telephone to resolve a problem at KATH. I get there and a problem crops up in the process; may be a part needs a replacement. The HOD cannot order me to go ahead and replace it until they have consulted sufficiently with the supply chain managers and finance manager, etc. I'm talking about hours of waiting and wasting time. Sometimes, no conclusion is reached and I leave without doing the job. I need to burn fuel again driving there the following day to resolve the problem (Elesca Engineering Manager, KATH).

This is a bit sensitive...I'm not sure, but I doubt if they have any freedom or leeway in making decisions..., which has created a number of problems. Mind you, they are all professionals who know exactly what they are to do. They need to be given the chance and 'a bit of free hands' to prove themselves. I know it's a public

sector institution but I think things are changing all over now (Philips Manager, KBu).

...so it becomes challenging to now come to work in an environment where most decisions require approval from a higher authority. For me as a manager every time counts, and each time we have to wait for approval we are wasting time; such wasted times are never paid for-even if they are paid for, it's still a waste of state money. There is no interference on what I do but it appears the managers are slow in making decisions. You know it's often said that the private man does not fear taking decisions and risks, that's why their businesses tend to prosper more. There's too much consultation. It's all waste of time (Philips Manager, KBu).

5.8 Conclusion: Summary and Major Insights

In this section I discuss the differences in the findings between the installation/maintenance and the cleaning cases. The discussion is held against the backdrop of the rationale for outsourcing, the involvement of middle managers in decision making, the issues and challenges encountered by managers and professionals, and the coping devices they employ in response. These issues define the nature of and what characterises managerial-professional relationships. I take each case in turn, beginning with Installation/Maintenance

5.8.1 *Installation/Maintenance*

While there are various reasons underlying management's decision to outsource the Installation/Maintenance function it appears from the senior management and PMMs' perspective the principal reason is to find a lasting solution to the capacity challenge in both hospitals. There is shortage of personnel with the requisite knowledge and know-how on all aspects of hospital engineering but particularly those to be responsible for the procurement installation and maintenance of medical equipment and machinery. This shortage has cost the hospitals a substantial volume of scarce resources is a fact majority of respondents affirmed. However, there are such other considerations as cutting costs; government/ideological influences, and core/non-core functions over which there remain differences in the opinions of managers studied. For instance, from senior managers' perspective, outsourcing decision is driven by considerations such as costs, affordability and political influences while for PMMs, addressing work habits, level of complexity and being relieved of routine supervision become the major considerations. On their part service providers think cost cutting, political, capacity and addressing negative work habits are strong determinants of outsourcing decisions.

The question of who should and who actually takes the decision to outsource a given function as well as determine the service providers generated considerable disagreement and controversy. Clearly although in theory, such decisions are taken by the CMB, outsourcing initiatives are input principally by senior, not professional middle management, and so one could argue that a possible reason for involving CMB is to legitimate such decisions. It also became apparent that there are possible conceptual ambiguities with respect to whether the outsourcing of the Installation/Maintenance function has been

conceptualised as a strategic decision or an operational one. Moreover, there are two interesting speculations with respect to the decision making structure of both hospitals (see background to cases, this chapter). One, senior management treated the decision to outsource as a strategic one, hence saw little need for professional management inputs. Two, PMM saw and treated outsourcing decision as operational one with enormous implications for the practice of their profession, hence saw their input to that decision as of fundamental importance to the success of the initiative.

As regards the issues and challenges experienced, each category of management seems to have different experiences. Beginning with senior management, central issues seems to be cost-related, and include heightened costs after outsourcing, the contracts, contracting and procurement-surrounded by considerable ambiguity, giving occasion to corrupt practices; and union and labour issues. All these have considerable cost implications. For PMMs, the central issue relates to restriction on their professional autonomy, which is connected to their decision making power over a range of issues. According to PMM restrictions on their decision making power is reflected in the fact that:

- (i) They have not been actively involved in making decision on outsourcing a function [including the choice of service providers] under their professional and managerial domain, yet they are obliged to serve as supervisors over such projects;
- (ii) They have been told what to do and how to do it from managerial, not professional point of view;

- (iii) The disproportionate emphasis by management on costs and results has often collided with PMMs' emphasis on quality, equity, and observing procedures;
- (iv) Senior managers by-pass PMMs and ignore their experience-based knowledge by engaging the external consultants [described as strong on theory but weak on practice] at higher costs;
- (v) Senior managers have taken over PMMs' professional space through getting personally involved in and making decisions over issues which are clearly the domains of PMM.
- (vi) External service providing managers, noticing the frequency of PMMs' consultation prior to arriving at decisions regarding the day-to-day practice of their profession concluded that the latter are inefficient and tend to waste scarce national resources
- (vii) It is possible PMMs experience some degree of ambiguity, conflict and contradiction with their role as professionals and managers

It is apparent that compared to PMMs, senior managers, by their position, pay greater attention to strategic issues. Undoubtedly, when asked how they responded to the encountered issues, their responses tend to cover financial/economic-related issues. They employed direct, straightforward approach in response to the issues by which they are confronted (**Table 5.1**).

PMM employed an entirely different approach, encompassing a complex mix of direct and indirect methods by which they sought to reposition and reconstruct themselves. It was obvious from the interviews that PMMs saw these strategies as transcending the tangible

limitations and constraints imposed on their autonomy, and capable of reasserting their positions-not simply order-compliant middle managers but professionals possessing the power to influence what goes on in their organisations. This is obvious from **Table 5.2**

The main source of conflicts appeared to be the superimposition on professional values of managerial objectives with unbalanced emphasis on cost. These outcomes can be explained on the basis of NPM in which this thesis is grounded. However, this observation is not to be understood to mean that such senior-middle management conflicts are mutually exclusive to NPM environment. Such conflicts merely reveal the fundamental tension between senior and middle management even in the private sector. The central argument here is that while these tensions cannot be attributed exclusively to NPM reforms, their presence does draw attention to the issues and tensions likely to be experienced in NPM reform environment to the extent that the NPM model is based on private sector managerialism, which partly underpins such conflicts.

5.8.2 *Cleaning*

The fact that there are different opinions among management on the need to outsource the cleaning function is clearly established from the analysis. Clearly changing worker attitudes to public sector employment is a reason most managers gave for outsourcing. Reducing routine supervision and core/non-core considerations are two other reasons indicated by most managers while political/ideological, economic/cost reasons are the least indicated. Despite these differences there is clear evidence suggesting that for majority of respondents the rationale to outsource this function is underlain principally by the need to address the negative working habits of hospital staff.

With respect to decision making, there is a central management board (CMB) (which includes PMMs) vested with decision making powers. However PMMs maintained they are either kept at bay from active participation in making crucial decisions or their participation is restricted to trivial issues. One line of analysis is to argue that the inclusion of PMMs in the CMB, aside other reasons, could be a rhetorical strategy by senior management to gain their commitment to the hospital's decisions initiated by senior management. Middle management saw the decision-making function as crucial; their exclusion from active participation in decision making, which in their view, represents reduction in their discretionary power, seems to underlie much of their dissatisfaction with senior management. In response PMMs employ a number of strategies, which, although inherently indirect, less straight-forward, and non-confrontational, may upon further scrutiny be interpreted as strategies by which they sought to point out the flaws in the new management governance arrangements so enacted by senior management. While interview data does not provide strong evidence of political influence over outsourcing decision, it is important to note that with respect to the public sector, there would always be a political action, which opens up the space for management action, in this case, the outsourcing of the cleaning function.

Unlike the installation and maintenance case, however, no consultants were hired to manage the interface. Moreover, while in Installation/Maintenance, PMMs withhold their expertise as a form of resistance, in cleaning this is not the case. There appears to be fewer instances of conflicts between senior and professional managers in cleaning than in Installation/Maintenance (high-value skills area) case, where the advice or opinion of consultants seems to have priority over and carries greater weight than those of HODs. In the case of the outsourcing of cleaning (low-value skills area), HODs exercise a higher

degree of autonomy in both monitoring the activities of service providing managers and carrying out their mundane tasks.

Finally, with respect to Installation/Maintenance case, both senior and professional management agree about the need to outsource but disagree over who decides which function gets outsourced and which service provider gets the contract. Thus in principle, outsourcing is believed to be strategically helpful in both cases from whichever angle it is looked at. Where the disagreement exists is the implementation interface, and as the analyses suggest, most PMMs evaluated outsourcing as a failure and waste of resources, leading to higher rather than the anticipated lower costs. In cleaning on the other hand, there is agreement over both the need to outsource and the outcome of outsourcing. The latter vary with the level of skills required in the functional area such that the high-value skills area seems to be associated with heightened degrees of disagreement and lower level of success than low-value skills area. The assessment of outsourcing outcomes as positive could be linked to good implementation. Thus, there is little doubt whether outsourcing is good and little disagreement over whether it would work; the central issue remains linked to implementation style and who gets involved in making crucial decisions in the process.

CHAPTER SIX:

DISCUSSIONS

6. 0. Introduction

To the research questions posed in chapter four, I discuss the major findings outlined in the previous chapter with respect to existing relevant literature. I begin by focusing on the first major research question, which attempts to investigate the issues PMMs encounter under NPM-type reforms. For a clearer appreciation of the complexity of these issues I discuss these under three sub-headings. The first sub-question focuses on issues relating to the rationales for outsourcing various [high-value skills and low-value skills] functions. The second investigates the issues relating to making outsourcing decisions. The third focuses on the interrelated issues of conflicts, tensions and dilemmas introduced by the interaction of NPM described as the ‘marriage of opposites’ (Hood, 1991) with particular political and socio-cultural dynamics by which the context of this research has been defined.

The second major research question examines the strategies or coping devices managers employed in responding to the encountered issues. Although the views of PMMs remain the central focus, the views of senior managers, and in few instances those of service providing managers, are considered alongside these. I explore these coping strategies, which I analyse within the broad framework of workplace resistance. The theoretical framework I adopted in explaining and conceptualising professionals’ resistance strategies relate to the concept of expert power (Crozier, 1963), the weapons of the weak (Scott, 1985; Hanchard, 2004), and discourses shaping contemporary workplace industrial relations (Collinson, 1999). I identify the mediating role of the endemic, systemic local features and

challenges including a range of socio-cultural, political and economic factors that define the social interactions and workplace dynamics in Ghana's public sector. The third and final major question explores how insights from the first and second questions can broaden our understanding of the nature and effects of managerial-professional-relationships on NPM-type reforms in an LDC context. In doing this I look in retrospect at the NPM framework in terms of its content and focus (Hood, 1991; 1995), and examine how the management-professional interactions discovered in these cases, mediated by the above wide-ranging local factors, could lead to a possible shift in focus [of NPM].

6.1 Issues and challenges professionals encounter

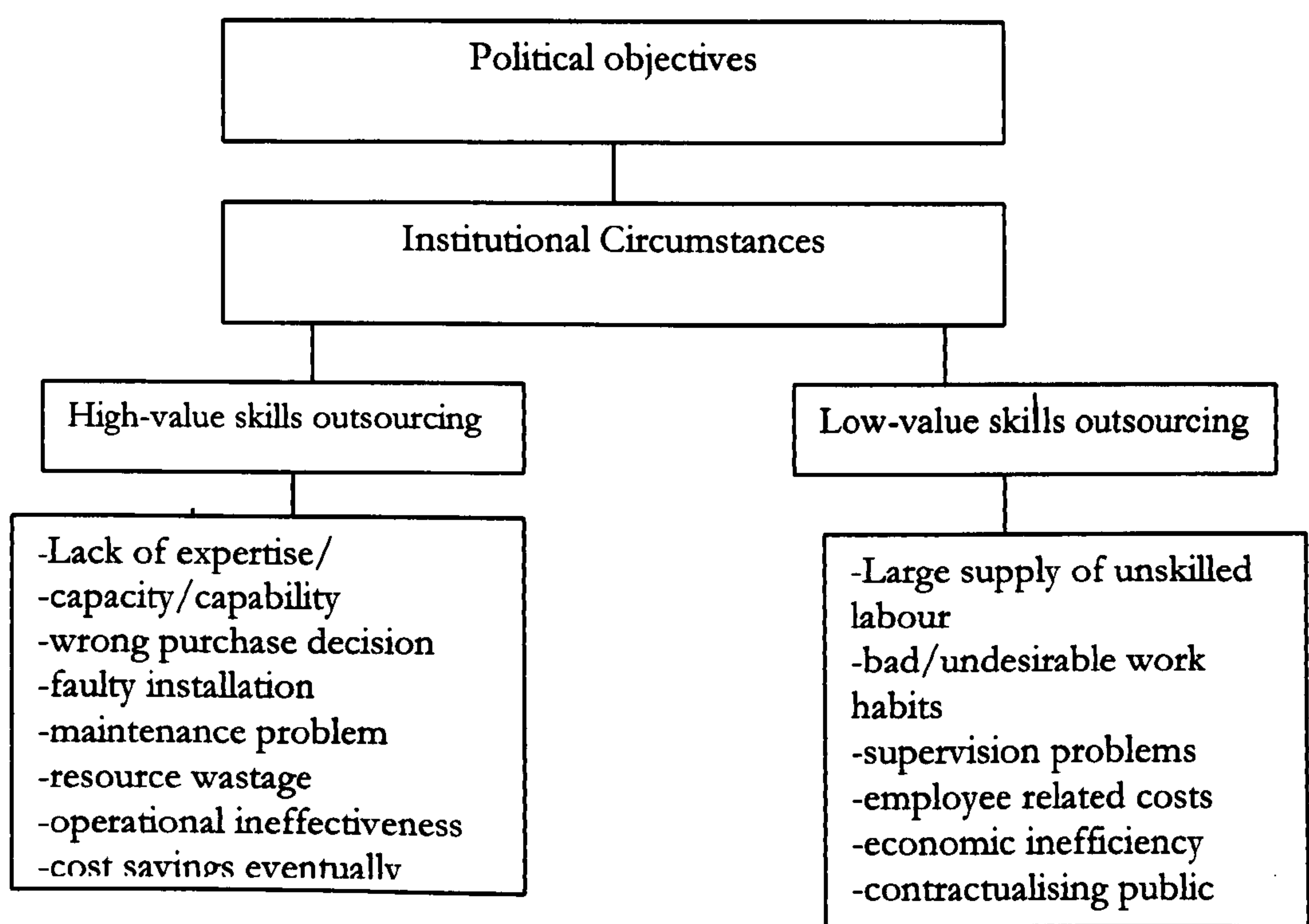
In this section, I discuss, from the cases investigated, the issues managers face with respect to the rationales for outsourcing, and the extent of involvement of professionals in organisational decision making. This part of the discussions (Section 6.1.1 to 6.6.5) forms part of the major Research Question 1.

6.1.1 Issues related to rationale for outsourcing different functions

The history of outsourcing not least in the UK draws attention to the role political and ideological factors have played in marketising outsourcing as a means of attaining economic efficiency in the public sector. This level of analysis places the subject of public sector outsourcing in a political domain; implying an over-totalizing power of politicians in determining outsourcing decisions. While this argument sounds plausible, partially true because politicians have undoubtedly played a pivotal role in publicising outsourcing (Whitfield, 2001), it does tend nevertheless to mask the challenging organisational

circumstances, apart from cost efficiency-related factors, that make the argument to outsource more compelling, and the need to outsource a real necessity rather than fashion. This section thus attempts to move the debate on the justification for outsourcing beyond the level of a political argument, and to factor in peculiar circumstances of public organisations that make outsourcing acceptable to politicians, management, and even professionals-major stakeholders in delivering public services. It attempts to show clearly how cost-efficiency and non-cost considerations have indeed given rise to the need to outsource in some circumstances. The analysis suggests that the rationale behind the outsourcing of various functions as well as the level of skills required in a given task area of PMMs tend to influence the attitudes and interactions between senior managers and PMMs in the implementation process. Fig 6.1 presents the various rationales underlying outsourcing, with political objectives at the top under which all other rationales and objectives are subordinated.

Fig 6.1 *Rationales for outsourcing different functions*



This project has held the explicit assumption that although the whole subject of outsourcing health services occurred within a well orchestrated political agenda, which undoubtedly defined and created the space for any management action, particular institutional circumstances are equally strong determinants of the decision to outsource, and are thus deserving of critical analysis. Chapter five has demonstrated that while the need to cut cost-which is at the very centre of the political ideology of the current Ghana government-has underpinned the move to outsource, in both the high-value skills and low-value skills areas, there are significant differences in rationale for outsourcing both functions. These differences, as made clear in chapter 5, lie partly in the types and level of skills required for each set of tasks in each case.

From the previous chapter, the greatest challenge facing the high-value function (Installation/Maintenance) is inadequate capacity. The shortage of experts in making informed purchase decisions has resulted in: (i) the purchase of wrong equipment and the additional cost of returning them; (ii) wrong installation of equipment, leading to waste; and (iii) serious maintenance problems as broken down equipment could not be repaired. All this led to what I call a vicious cycle of resource wastage but such shortage of experts also challenged the very operational viability of the various departments. Thus the organisations could neither maintain their operational viability nor remain efficient, effective and economic. Thus there was, besides the ideological factor, a real need for expert staffs, which the hospitals could hardly attract due to low wages, leaving the outsourcing of this function the only viable option.

It is here that the role of professional middle managers, who are required by virtue of their expert knowledge, to supervise the work of the external service providers, becomes crucial. As analysis suggests, because senior managers have not been very much involved with the

practice of their profession, having spent much of their time in management, they lack up-to-date knowledge about the type of expertise provided by the external service providers. Under the circumstances it would be helpful for senior managers to rely on professional managers in trying to understand and relate to external service providers. In any case, this would very much depend on PMMs' past record of performance especially with respect to making prudent financial decisions. However, the analysis suggests that senior managers by-passed PMMs, tending instead to rely on external consultants. It is this that remains the major source of conflicts between senior and professional managers.

The rationale for outsourcing this function was to help the hospital to handle a skills area in which the necessary expertise was lacking. Under the outsourcing framework, to survive an outsourcing relationship, the client must necessarily possess some expertise in the function being outsourced in order to prevent the outsourcing provider from pursuing their selfish interest due to client's ignorance (McIvor, 2000), which would constitute a moral hazard typical of public choice. Arguably, PMMs who possess this expertise expect to exert considerable influence over managing this interface yet they felt their capacity to play this crucial role has been reduced by the hiring and increased reliance on external consultants, an issue which remains one of their gravest concerns throughout this research. Some PMMs argued that being allowed to play this role, which might involve being given access to certain 'privileges' over which senior managers might wish to exercise exclusive control, could represent a reduction in senior management's power relative to theirs (PMMs'). Intentionally or unintentionally, senior managers avoided PMMs, tending to over-rely on consultants rather than on PMMs, a practice that PMMs seriously resent as the analysis suggests.

Coming back to the low-value skills outsourcing, the objective is to rationalise the organisation by cutting down on its human resources considered not only redundant but also as possessing work habits the organisation considers dysfunctional to its mandate. Outsourcing this function was meant to reduce the size of permanent staffs, avoid a range of indirect costs such as those related to holidays and maternity, and reduce managers' supervision time. Moreover, replacing permanent staffs with contract workers, who are believed to possess the right attitudes to work, would suggest that management has an agenda to effect attitudinal and cultural changes in the organisation. Since tasks performed by outsourcing providers, which are supervised by PMMs, do not require any highly specialised skills, senior management seem to have no difficulty relating to external service providers in this case. In that case senior management do not need to depend on professionals, neither do they need consultants because they can exercise full control over the process. By implication, PMMs in this case do not have any area over which to exercise exclusive control, hence do not constitute a source of expert power and therefore compared to the installation and maintenance case, pose lesser threats to senior management. This might explain why there are more instances of conflicts between senior management and PMMs in installation and maintenance cases than in cleaning cases.

As I suggested in the previous chapter, the outsourcing of the high-value skills/complex function has greater potential for managerial-professional conflicts than the outsourcing of low-value skills function. Situations that require high-value skills to resolve would tend to reinforce the power of those in possession of those skills, constituting a source of expert power for them (in this case, professionals and external service providers). Once such a situation is created, there would emerge, according to Crozier's (1964: 160-5) theorizing, another power to control that power (see chapter 3). Thus a valid conclusion from this

analysis is that outsourcing complex skills and the expertise [from consultants] required to manage them will pose greater threat to PMMs.

Additionally, the outsourcing of high-value skills was targeted primarily at addressing capacity shortage problems rather than cutting costs although cost-cutting remains significantly implicit in these initiatives. In fact the main issue for PMMs under the low-value skills case is senior managers' excessive emphasis on cost often at the sacrifice of quality. Cost is thus more central to the outsourcing of the cleaning function than it is in the case of outsourcing the installation and maintenance function. To the extent then that the skill required to perform in a functional area is complex that functional area would constitute a domain over which both senior and middle managers would seek to exercise control.

6.1.2 *Issues relating to involvement of professionals in outsourcing decision making: the contradictory role of middle managers in the decision making process*

The second potential source of conflicts relates to decision-making structures, and the level of professionals' involvement in the actual decision making process. Within the decision making framework (chapter five) no major decision could be made in the absence of PMMs. Ironically, the analysis revealed that while the presence of PMMs is required for decisions to be made, not so with their active involvement in the decision making process. For instance, in spite of their membership in the CMB most PMMs complained their viewpoints are often ignored, and they are often by-passed in taking major organizational initiatives. One could argue that PMMs' presence on the CMB could be for the purposes of *ratifying* decisions rather than actually initiating or making decisions. This is one of the

issues of concern to PMMs. Professionals expressed frustration and disappointment over their less active participation in making decisions regarding outsourcing; since, as they argued, they were directly involved in the implementation of such initiatives.

6.1.3 *Conceptualising the decision making structure and dynamics*

The inclusion of PMMs in CMB could be interpreted as a process of democratization to ensure the legitimacy of such decisions against the backdrop that in a democratic dispensation the legitimacy of any decision is greatly determined by the extent to which it is believed to emerge from the collective viewpoints of all or major stakeholders (Beetham, 1991). Thus such decision-making strategy can be conceptualised as a strategy of '*democratization for legitimation*'. Clearly, the need to ensure the legitimacy of decisions so as to guarantee PMMs' continuous involvement in, support for and commitment to these could be a possible explanatory variable for senior managers' inclusion of PMMs in CMB. In that sense the concepts of employee involvement, and empowerment could be employed to explain such senior management strategy. One could locate this strategy of PMMs' inclusion in CMB within *empowerment discourse* as an employee involvement strategy meant to accomplish in PMMs, two possible objectives: (1) get them to *feel involved* in the organization, and to be obliged to commit to CMB decisions; (ii) get them to see the legitimacy of such decisions. In the discussions that follow I employ the concepts of involvement and empowerment in greater detail as they relate to this discussion.

I categorize PMMs as a target of involvement activities, placing them in the same category as other employees whose control and involvement [senior] management seeks for the attainment of organizational goals. It is a widely-held view that senior management is often

involved with strategic decisions, leaving operational ones to middle management (Procter et al, 1999; Fenton-O'Creevy, 2001). However, in this case, by involving PMMs in CMB, senior management was probably seeking to create within PMMs an impression that they are being involved in both strategic and operational decisions. But PMMs in this case, have in practical terms little involvement in decisions even on daily operational issues.

Empowerment is understood fundamentally as a vehicle that can move organizations from a static rule-bound past to a flexible future (Wilkinson, 1998), allowing their (organisations') relationship with its employees to move from control to commitment (Procter et al, 1999: 242). For most critics, empowerment represents nothing more than rhetorically constructed smoke-screen behind which lies a more sophisticated agenda of exploiting employees (Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992; Procter et al, 1999). It is possible, according to Wilkinson (1998), that such involvement strategies could represent managerial vehicles to gain control over employees. Wilkinson observed that 'empowerment takes place within the context of a strict management agenda such that power is given by management rather than taken by employees'. Collins (1996: 35) describes this (empowerment) as an innovation in managerial control, adding that the underpinning logic of empowerment initiatives is in fact, disempowerment.

From this perspective, although one could not rule out the fact that the inclusion of PMMs in CMB could be underpinned by senior managers' commitment to ensuring the latter's input to decision making, neither can the possibility that this is an empowerment/involvement strategy be ruled out. Indeed in the empowerment and involvement literatures, the traditional role of middle managers has been challenged at best as unnecessary, and at worst harmful to the successful operation of the new, flexible

organization (Burrell, 1996; Palmer, 1995). The involvement of professionals in CMB in these cases might be described as a process to democratize with the view to eliciting their commitment (Lin, 2006: 71). Moreover, since PMMs are part of the decision making body, this could atrophy their inclination and capacity to question and oppose such decisions. Writers such as Ramsay (1977) in his influential 'cycles of [managerial] control' suggest that employers introduce involvement activities as a way of appearing to share some degree of control in the face of threats to their authority from workers' organizations. However, as threats from labour abate they allow involvement practices to fade away (Fenton-O'Creevy, 2001). Although Ramsays' (1977) cycles of control and Collins' (1996) 'cocktails of control' and 'management cocktails' theories were derived from a very different OECD context, and based mainly on white/blue collar unionized workers, there are potential parallels that could be drawn from these to illustrate the managerially-initiated employee involvement strategy employed in these cases.

Although the discussion in this section has centered on senior managers, rather than PMMs it is intended to provide a background to broaden our understanding of the nature of managerial environment within which PMMs operate. The objective of involving PMMs in CMB appeared to be defined first and foremost in senior managers' terms. PMMs experiences clearly demonstrate a feeling of a sense of exclusion in the environment of 'supposed inclusion'. Even suppose that this speculative analysis has a weak basis in the absence of senior management intention to manipulate PMMs, one could still argue that senior management were perhaps unaware that their approach to decision-making was going to be ineffective in a complex professional domain.

As it emerged, excluding professionals from decision making had unintended consequences on organizational objectives, measured in terms of project failures. PMMs indeed saw project failures as opportunities to draw senior managers' attention to the weaknesses in organisational decision making, from which they appear to be cunningly excluded, giving credence to the fact that participative forms of management would be a better approach to managing professionals. Although participative management techniques have been believed to increase total control in an organization (Tannenbaum, 1968) and to lead to more, not less, control for (senior) managers (Kanter, 1984), senior managers from the case studies seemed unprepared to increase the power of their subordinates by involving them in making crucial outsourcing decisions. The result is a form of power struggle between the senior and middle managers studied.

This section attempts to illuminate the ambiguous position of PMMs; they have limited involvement in organizational decision making about which they express a sense of frustration. They also feel inadequately informed about issues that subordinate workers had actually become aware of, a situation that is suggestive of the superficiality of their involvement in making organizational decisions. This came to light in one of the interviews when a PMM made the following observation:

It's such that once you're part of CMB, you're supposed to embrace any decision made by central management, as a joint one, and not just something coming from senior management. At times, it's hard because although you might personally not agree with the decision, you have to *show* you're committed to it, and it's difficult to be yourself. Sometimes, a worker sees you, and says, 'manager, is that the new plan; oh! And ... you

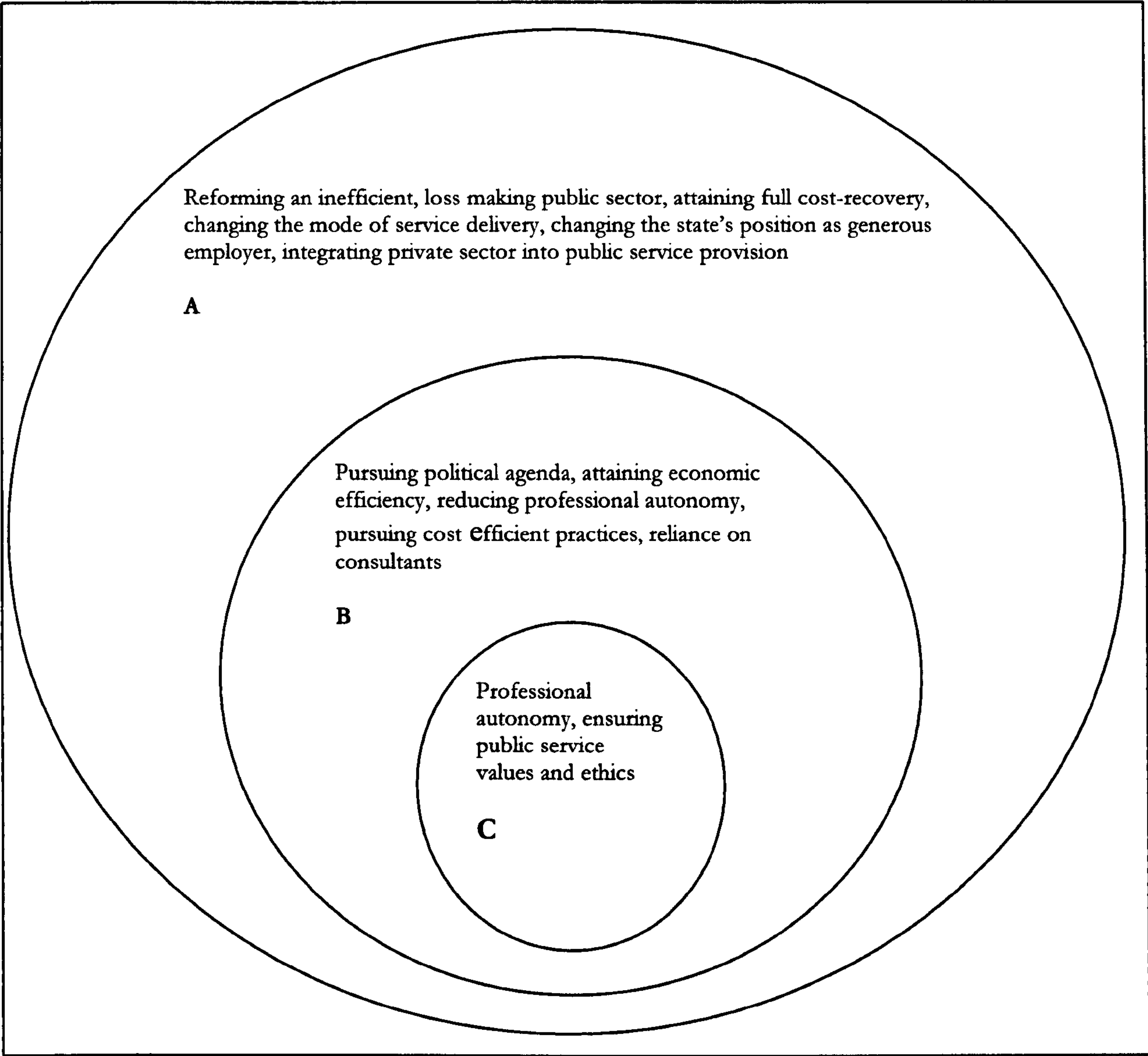
know you don't like it, sometimes you don't even know it but can't say it... (Technical Manager, K' Bu)

In spite of this limited involvement, PMMs are the first contact persons required to monitor the activities of external services providers. This remains one of the sources of concern of PMMs, particularly those from Installation/Maintenance cases. They express concerns over monitoring outsourcing projects they do not decide, and service providers they have no hand in selecting; they attributed much outsourcing project failures to this.

6.1.4 *Issues and challenges introduced to managerial-professional relationships by the conflictual and paradoxical NPM and the socio-cultural and economic context of Ghana*

Fig 6.2 below illustrates the context within which managerial-professional interactions occurred. Both levels of management experienced several issues, which I have explained below. Fig 6.2 would help understand the nature of such complex, conflicting factors underlining political, managerial and professional objectives.

Fig 6.2 *The political, managerial/administrative and professional contexts of public sector reforms*



6.2 The Political Context

The entire project of outsourcing support services in health and other public organisations including local government departments, occurred in the context of a predetermined

political agenda, as represented by **Fig 6.2** and supported by the following quote, which although not directly related to outsourcing health support services, has relevance in setting the contextual scene for outsourcing:

Although the national policy gives the primary responsibility of waste management to LGs....the state has seen the necessity to *enable* LGs to better perform their responsibilities. The policy *mandates* the (LGs) to invite the private sector to provide the actual services under contract or franchise...as appropriate. When these functions are transferred, the corresponding *capital budget, personnel and equipment* are also mandated to be transferred. The policy requires LGs to maintain adequate capacity to provide not less than 20 per cent of the services... (Min of LG, 1999: 14-15, taken from Awortwi, 2002: 80) (Emphasis, mine)

The above quote makes clear the political environment within which outsourcing of health support services occurs. Hospital management then has to make outsourcing decisions within this broader policy framework. However, there appears to be lack of agreement even within senior management over the way they interpret this policy context. For instance a senior manager who expressed the following view implies that managers need to interpret these policies with respect to how they relate to their particular organisational circumstances and needs:

...First of all, the current government is in favour of outsourcing; and their policy now is to reduce the size of the government sector and allow private sector participation and expansion. From government's viewpoint these issues border on efficiency because due to lack of effective supervision there's often low output. From our hospital's viewpoint the process of securing financial clearance to hire staff is cumbersome. Also it wasn't easy

getting staff to fill some of the vacancies especially in areas considered not core to our business, so we decided to outsource some of them (Director of Administration, KATH).

Another senior manager however views the policy as over-determining and paralysing, calling only for compliance rather than active interpretation and negotiation in line with organisational circumstances:

But this outsourcing policy is something that has come from government so it must survive. So even if you don't like it, you have to like it; you have to give it a chance to survive (Procurement Manager, KBu).

One PMM maintains that both government and senior management are partners in fulfilling an agreed agenda:

The Chief Executive was brought in by government, so he's accountable to government (Maintenance Manager, KATH)

It is therefore the political will, objective and action that created the space within which any managerial action occurs. This agenda, with a strong emphasis on cost efficiency and new methods of delivering public services is grounded principally in the rhetoric of managerialism, one of the fundamental underpinnings of NPM. Although managers can still interpret and choose between these in accordance with their organisational needs management performance is clearly assessed by reference to this politically-determined agenda, cascaded down through senior managers, whom I call 'politician surrogates'.

6. 3. Managerial Context

Bounded by the middle circle **B** in **Fig 6.2** the managerial context is defined by senior managers whose foremost preoccupation is to ensure the pursuit of the agenda for which they have been recruited. The context defines this set of agenda, and includes achieving cost efficiency in delivering public services; exercising some level of control over what PMMs do perhaps to ensure organisational objectives are not sacrificed, and hiring consultants to manage this interface, if need be. The use of consultants becomes necessary especially when dealing with highly technical skills areas as evident from the following quotes from pilot interviews

In case of highly technical projects we cannot deal directly with the contractor; instead we contract a consultant to do all the professional works related to the project. Often the consultants do all the professional work about the design of the contracts, and help open the tenders, etc. This ensures only the right decisions taken by the experts are implemented throughout (Works & Maintenance Engineer, Ghana Health Service-Pilot Studies September, 2004).

The two hospitals work with the same philosophy, based on the fact that private outsourcing contractors and hospital staffs believed to be civil servants have two opposing philosophies and ethos, hence the need for a consultant who understands the language of both the contractor and hospital staffs:

It's all because of the different philosophies of the private person (contractor) whose sole aim is to make profits and the civil servants in the hospitals who aim to protect the interest

of the hospital and that of the public (Capital Investment Analyst, Ghana Health Service, September 2004).

While it would be difficult to argue that senior managers intentionally sought to control professionals by restricting their domain of discretionary power, it appears the success of the former's job in an increasingly accountable environment definitely requires some reduction in discretionary behaviour by the latter, as one senior manager remarked:

Although we understand some people need to use their discretion, our first and foremost objective is to ensure we deliver results by keeping our eyes on what we've been brought in to do...For instance an auditor does not come in to audit your discretion-to see whether I or someone uses their discretion to approve documents-but to audit whether you've followed due process, and that will tell them whether you're on course or not....So the old system of doing things would now have to subject to the new approved method, and gradually it is gaining ground (Procurement Manager, KBu).

Within this environment it appears managerial authority and goals have been superimposed on professional objectives, which define and sometimes limit the space within which the latter's action occurs:

Well, that was the Chief Executive's idea. You see when he was *brought in*, he complained of much inefficiency and bad attitude of employees, so...some of these things, it's a bit hard to comment on them (Environmental Sanitation Manager, KATH).

A central goal of senior managers is to achieve cost efficiency, which seems paramount over every other consideration. In an environment of performance-based pay and contracts, by argument, the success of senior managers would be measured to a large by

reference to how much they achieved cost-efficiency, as confirmed by a PMM's when asked how successes is measured by senior management:

...Purely in terms of cost; if they've been able to beat down cost, then they've achieved their goal. Cost becomes central to most decisions (Technical Manager, KATH).

6.4 Professional Context

The professionals are middle managers-heads of departments in their respective professional areas, and though addressed as (middle) managers, they are first and foremost professionals, but acting in some capacity as managers. Unlike senior managers however these are permanent employees whose salaries are to a large extent, fixed and not dependent directly on their output. Throughout this study it became evident that while professionals are surely committed to pursuing cost-efficient practices, and that the possibility of their involvement in rent-seeking or selfish, corrupt behaviour cannot be ruled out, their fundamental concern seems to be ensuring that public service values and ethos are maintained and service quality assured. These goals, they argued, are attainable only if they are allowed to practice their profession in a free, uninterrupted environment under collegial regulation. These assertions are supported:

I wouldn't say no, because it becomes difficult for us to agree. They stress cost and we say, yes, cost is important but it's not just cost; we need to look at other equally important issues apart from cost. We need to ensure that service quality is good and of acceptable standard...This is one area we struggle a lot (Maintenance Manager, KBu)

These managerial-professional differences seem to emerge from the different [socially constructed] value systems enacted through the complex networks of contracts and incentive systems, which managers and professionals work in. Like other forms of value systems, such socially created value systems give rise to normative behaviours and expectations, which arguably underlie much of the issues and conflicts between managers and senior managers and PMMs. In the context of NPM it is fundamentally these differences in the normative values and motivations between managers and professionals that underlie much of the often-cited tensions which characterize their relationships. In this case although there is, between management professionals, a common ground for outsourcing in the sense that they both realized the urgency of the need to deal with both the capacity challenge (Installation/Maintenance) and the attitudinal problem (Cleaning) through outsourcing, expectations of outcomes seem to differ considerably, and appear as the underlining source of much conflict between senior managers and PMMs.

Having established the contextual background, I now turn first to the main issues senior managers face, and against this background and within the broader context of NPM, examine the main issues professionals encountered.

6.5 Senior Managers' Experiences

On the basis of the often-cited academic literature that part of senior managers' duty under NPM is to reduce professionals' influence on the delivery of public services ('dismantle professionals' power-Newman and Clarke, 1994; Clarke et al, 2000), combined with the context presented in **Fig 6.2** it is highly likely that senior managers, like professionals, could find themselves in a challenging situation, steering between political, economic and professional goals. Yet paradoxically, under current NPM reforms, managerial devolution

and professional autonomy are expected to be exercised concurrently in the same workplace. To be successful in their proxy role as representatives of politicians, managers [without being necessarily prejudiced against PMMs] need to exert a reasonable degree of control over what PMMs do; yet doing so would both imply restricting PMMs' autonomy. The difficult trade-offs and dilemmas created by this could become a fundamental source of conflicts between managers and professionals, expressed in various ways in these case studies.

Senior managers expressed concern that the cost-cutting objective could only be partially realized, and contended that whilst some cost was definitely saved other issues translated to higher cost and eroded much of the savings realized. Such issues included non-transparent procurement processes, ill-defined, or technically complicated and ambiguous contracts that service providers exploited to their advantage, and the apparent inefficiency of PMMs. Consequently, according to PMMs, senior managers resorted to increased centralization of power, rather than decentralising power to give PMMs the autonomy they require to perform effectively. This means senior managers tend to focus sometimes indiscriminately on procedures, something that runs partly counter to NPM's avowed commitment to results-oriented public service delivery. Additionally, as observed by PMMs, senior managers tended to rely heavily on external consultants, by-passing PMMs, who felt aggrieved that their expertise was not used.

Various meanings could be read into such senior management approach to working with professional middle managers. In the first place, this could be underscored by the need to ensure effective adherence to proper procedures in the way the hospital should conduct itself (Massey and Pyper, 2005), partly due to concerns that professionals might be weak on

self-regulation as claimed by Hutton and Massey (2006: 24). Second, it might be that senior managers have reservations about PMMs' claim to a commitment of ensuring the protection of public interest. Third, it could also be informed by Illich's (1977) argument that modern social professionals tend to disable members of society, who then depend on professionals on a number of decisions, privileging as they were, an educated caste in society. Illich thus concluded the whole essence of profession is nothing but a craving for power, status and privilege. This claim could be strengthened by questions raised for instance by Britain's New Right politicians [who view professionals' activity as a form of conspiracy against free flow of markets and resources, describing them as constraints on efficient and effective running of governments] about professionals' claim to altruism (Hutton and Massey, 2006). This viewpoint has led to the conception that professionals' power is a brake on reform, making modernizing governments to undermine professional influence through the elevation of a cult of the generalist manager (Massey and Pyper, 2005). It is possible senior managers' actions and attitudes towards PMMs could be informed by and explained from such an ideological standpoint as suggested by the quote below:

Another example was our staff canteen where our own staffs in the kitchen department were handling. A committee was formed to overlook their operations. For a year there were lots of problems; they were running at a loss, so at a point I decided to outsource it. Immediately we said we wanted to outsource, that very month, they started making profits. The same management took it up but was making profits but we said we were bent on outsourcing it so we advertised it and got it outsourced and we have been making profits since then (Chief Executive, KATH).

While these are speculative perspectives of senior managers, they could be a vital starting point to understanding and examining the issues PMMs experience not least because as identified above, management action creates the context within which professionals operate. In the section following I discuss the issues PMMs experience in this context.

6.6 Issues Professional Middle Managers' experienced due to the conflicts, contradictions and tensions inherent in NPM

PMMs experienced a number of issues and challenges, which could be traced to the conflicts, contradictions and tensions introduced by the NPM framework. These include the tensions between centralization and decentralization of power; conflicts between focusing on costs or quality; and tensions between emphasizing procedures or results. There are other issues experienced by professionals, which could be described as deriving from the organisational imperatives imposed on senior management and their concomitant actions, and could be described perhaps as necessary evils. These include the reduction in professional autonomy, a feeling among PMMs of being by-passed by senior management, and a perceived restriction on professionals' access to organizational resources and information. Finally, there are a number of unresolved conceptual issues relating to position of the professional middle manager [in the sense of a professional who is also a manager], which seem to constitute potential source of conflicts within professionals.

6.6.1 *Procedures versus results*

While committed to achieving results, senior managers have tended to focus in contradicting fashion on procedures, and less on results, which meant goal achievement

often gets sacrificed for procedural tenacity. The increased use of bureaucratic controls in regulating PMMs' activities and operation tended to reduce their degree of discretion, the cause of much of the tensions between the two levels of management. Paradoxically, this increased control [by senior manager] of PMMs tended to reduce, not accentuate senior managers' capacity to attain goals, thus confirming Smith and Walshe's (2004) earlier observation of how managerial control over professionals paradoxically reduced managers' ability to get things done. In this case, senior managers' anticipation to save costs would not only be dashed; they could end up paying higher than initially anticipated. In summary, while senior managers are required by the NPM framework to be results-focused, they are seen to be more procedures-focused as this seems to be the surest way to keep corruption at bay, with one significant outcome of losing track of results. Paradoxically, the increase in procedural regulations has been seen by some of the PMMs interrogated in this project as breeding corrupt practices; not keeping them at bay. The net effect of such anti-corruption approaches has been a reduced autonomy and discretion to middle managers whose capacity to operate effectively and efficiently as both professionals and managers became greatly inhibited.

6. 6. 2 *Cost-quality/output-outcome conflict*

As shown in chapter five, striking the right balance between cost and quality remains one of the fundamental sources of conflict between managers and professionals. Although both senior and middle managers have a commitment to economic efficiency, they seemed to take conflicting perspectives on measuring success, with managers placing emphasis on cost-efficiency, while professionals tend to emphasise quality of service. These findings confirm earlier findings by Caron and Giaugue (2006), who reported that the increased

emphasis on cost has led to the overvaluing of quantifiable results (outputs) to the neglect of evaluation of less quantifiable results (outcomes). Arguably this emphasis on costs is a consequence of the surge in the accounting logic, which according to (Broadbent and Laughlin, 2002), involves the application of accounting technologies implicated in constructing resource flows used to price the outputs and create the ultimate visibility of the organization. Of course, the accounting logic is at the very heart of NPM, whose origins were 'couched in the language of economic rationalism, and promoted by a new generation of *econocrats* and *accountocrats* in high public office' (Hood (1995: 94). Thus there is little doubt that cost-efficiency and economic rationalism have taken a centre stage, and seem to have triumphed over other such public sector values as quality, equity, and ethics in most NPM reforms as evident from the quote below:

They'd always settle down for the lowest bidder and this has been a major source of conflicts....Management and administrators are always aiming at minimising cost at any rate, not examining the possible effects of that on project quality (Estate Manager, KATH).

Senior managers' excessive emphasis on cost issues seems to be informed by the thesis of the 'accounting logic' (Broadbent and Laughlin, 2001), which places greater emphasis on explicit outcomes and outputs, makes linkages between them and connects them with financial flows as to reward performance. The application of the accounting logic would subject almost every process to costing, measuring performance principally in cost terms, and losing sight of other areas of public service not necessarily cost-based. Professionals studied in this context interpret this approach of being managed by senior managers as *mechanization* and *routinization* of professional procedures, which they (professionals) resent.

6. 6. 3. *Reduction in professional autonomy and discretion*

PMMs in this study are concerned about reduction in their professional autonomy, consequential to increased managerial hierarchical regulation of professional practice, which has left consistent corrosions in their collegial regulation that characterizes professional practice. The analysis in chapter 5 suggests that middle managers' concern over the fall in their autonomy relates to all or at least one of the following: their views on new initiatives are either not sought or ignored altogether; they are denied the free hand necessary to make simple decisions regarding the way they practice their profession; and they lack the level of financial autonomy which they require to perform effectively in their roles especially in emergency situations. PMMs interviewed felt they were restricted from making decisions on both strategic and operational issues. Essentially, there is a clash between managerial authority and professional autonomy but there also appears to be significant conceptual distortions between the two terms [I return to this point in the latter part of this chapter where I discuss the potentially conflictual role/position of professional managers]. In examining managerial-professional relationships in chapter 3, I discussed the subject of reduction in professional autonomy and concluded that there could be moral justification for senior managers to desire to exercise control over what professionals do (Exworthy and Halford, 1999). This is because the former play a proxy role of politicians in ensuring cost-efficient and effective public sector delivery; in that case control would be understood as simply a means to an end and not an end in itself. However, it does appear that senior managers have increased control unnecessarily, if perhaps unintentionally. This has triggered unhealthy reactions from PMMs, undermining the very attainment of organisational objectives as PMMs seemed to find comfort in identifying with their

professional peers and professional codes at the sacrifice of organizational goal attainment.

As the following quotes from interview transcripts suggest:

...My first responsibility is to the sick people. I see this work as my personal ministry and I'm not going to 'shut up' so that someone who wants to make money does their own thing (Poly Manager, KATH).

Oh! It's been rough! But sometimes, you simply need to cooperate because you know the likely results ...at the end of the day it's about people's lives; it's about our profession (Technical Manager, KBu).

Given the contradictions and tensions that are brought together in the NPM doctrines, such outcomes as reported in this project seem unavoidable as part and parcel of the power dynamics of NPM, as in other social system.

6. 6. 4 *By-passing professionals' advice and relying on external consultants*

PMMs are concerned that senior managers have ignored their expertise, and advice, and since the latter arguably lack up-to-date practical professional knowledge, they have resorted to hiring external consultants, and this in turn creates a range of problems including increased costs. These views were expressed in the interviews:

There has been a major setback in the sense that those who brainstorm for ideas are administrators, not managers or professionals able to determine the technical appropriateness of a given project document. But if the people are professionals in their

area, they don't need a consultant. So the question is why not involve the professionals and avoid the consultants, saving some cost? I don't see why you have a problem with your equipment, and you call an engineer, and the engineer is not allowed to take decision based on his competence but instead, a consensus is required from people who are not engineers to take decision relating to issues of engineering nature, or call consultants. This has been a major source of conflicts between us and the hospital administrators (Biomedic Engineering Manager, KBu).

There's a limit to my authority over what I'm supposed to be doing. That's for somebody else to be brought in, without it being discussed with you, and you haven't been able to assess what you can or can't do. I have not been given the chance to determine my limits because there is some of the equipment; I'm not permitted to touch. These relate to issues of autonomy. Until my limit is attained you can't make a decision to bring in someone to help. We're required to give out our best, so you must have the space to work yourself to your limit then you can look outside. They place impediments in your way to make the work difficult; then when you're unable to deliver results, they conclude you're incapable and inefficient, which is not true. This puts us off gear. We don't find ourselves in the right environment. There are a lot of things going wrong. Even if we're over-employing people, nobody knows (Biomedic Engineering Manager, KATH)

From chapter five and above, a few observations can be made. First, increased reliance on external consultants means senior managers can easily by-pass PMMs in making crucial decisions. However, their capacity to effectively implement such decisions becomes reduced as they need the cooperation of PMMs. Second, according to some PMMs, increased reliance on external consultants tends to create technical problems because consultants are not always up- to-date with the complexity of the problems the hospital

faces. This is because according to Bio Manager (KBu) (chapter five), institutional practice is technology-based, and those not directly involved in day-to-day practice lack this technology; yet most consultants are strong on theory but weak on practice. Third, when consultants' prescriptions [decisions and initiatives] fail to deliver expected results and create problems such failures tend to be blamed on professionals' inefficiency and results in professionals' further alienation. Fourth, this use of consultants, professionals argued, not only resulted in failure to develop in-house capacity; it also tended to discourage the use of in-house expertise as it de-motivated professionals from using their knowledge and experience. Fifth, it has reinforced, rather than resolve, the syndrome of waste (necessitating outsourcing), where medical and other installed equipment and facilities could not be used.

All these suggest that the use of consultants can deliver contradictory results. On the one hand, consultants are believed to possess relevant knowledge and experience that could guide organisational decisions and initiatives, and could for instance save the organisation substantially in cost terms. On the other, their prescription could create further problems for the organisation if, as it has been argued, these are out of touch with the realities of the organisation. Some professionals argue that the use of external consultants has a hidden agenda meant to enrich a cadre of private sector consultants at the expense of the state. The use of consultants perfectly epitomises NPM philosophy and ideology in terms of the crucial role consultants have played, as well as the centrality of consultancy advice to the formulation and popularisation of the NPM doctrine. Undoubtedly, NPM was described as having been 'packaged as a body of doctrines and beliefs and promulgated by *'econocrats* and *consultocrats*' (Hood and Jackson, 1991) in response to challenging fiscal crises. Whitfield (2001: 65) argues that large management consultancies had a vested interest in marketising

and privatising the state under NPM reforms, and a common interest became soon apparent between politicians and consultants, who justified outsourcing of public services. As chapter five speculates there could be a form of rent-seeking from using consultants, as there could be possibilities that senior managers or even government have close links with consultants, or perhaps financial interests in certain consulting firms. This is an issue that requires further research.

6. 6. 5 *Restricted access to organisational resources and information*

From the quotes above, denial or restriction of access to organisation's resources and information is another issue of concern to PMMs as chapter five demonstrates. One reason, speculated the PMMs might be to make them increasingly dispensable by keeping them out of the picture possibly to give way to corrupt practices and an attempt to de-empower them. But senior management explain from an angle that suggests that they are careful to be part of every process, unsure of how much PMMs could be trusted to handle things effectively and appropriately in their absence. As explained earlier:

if we have that power and are able to delegate that power then we'll be able to get things done through others...but then because of...'causing financial loss to the state' ...everybody wants to be there to see that the right person does the work and that they do it properly before they sign. So I think there are certain things pushing them to the wall to adhere to some strict principles and procedures (Director of Administration, KBu).

As shown above senior management on the contrary, justify their increased centralisation of bureaucratic control, which has undesirable consequences for professionals' autonomy,

on the need to keep corrupt practices at bay, and also suggests their low level of trust in professionals' managerial [not professional] competence. Finally, the interactions and relationships between senior managers and professionals in this study could be understood by reference to a range of practices possibly linked with the socio-cultural practices inherent in Ghana's context (I have briefly discussed these in chapters one and two). How senior managers relate to PMMs could be influenced by this context.

6.7 How professionals responded: coping strategies

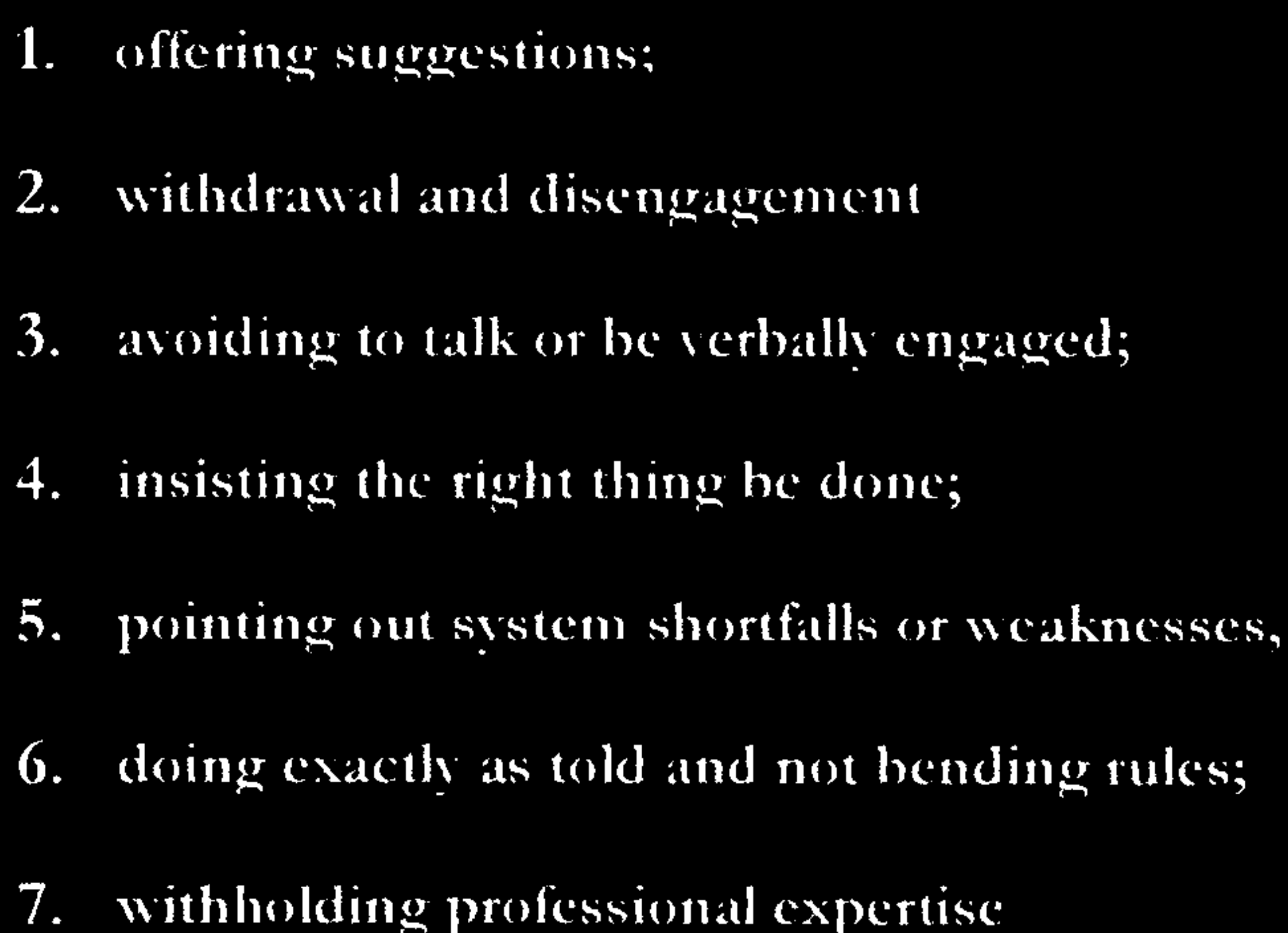
In this section I address the second research question, which seeks to investigate and conceptualise the strategies professionals employ in responding to the issues they encounter. Whereas both senior managers and PMMs experienced a range of issues, in this section the focus is to understand how middle managers go about responding to such as those issues identified in the previous section by focusing on the coping devices or resistance strategies they have employed. Essentially these issues are wrapped up in questions regarding the dialectic between devolution of authority to managers and autonomy to professionals. These issues suggest that managerial control has often been achieved at the cost of reduced professional autonomy in such a way that the power of the professionals has more often than not, been subsumed in that of managers.

From an organisation studies perspective PMMs' resistance strategies to the issues (which relate to power and control) could be conceptualised as mechanisms for reasserting power and control. Conceptual lenses of power, control and resistance could be employed in making sense of PMMs' resistance and coping strategies in this study. Various factors have influenced professionals' responses, explaining similarities and differences in their

resistance or coping strategies. Among the factors are: the peculiarity of professional resistance explainable on the basis of their access to expert power; discourses shaping contemporary public workplaces, as well as endemic and systemic challenges facing Ghana, including a range of socio-economic and cultural factors that shape social interactions in Ghana.

With respect to coping strategies, although there is evidence of different (direct and indirect, overt and covert, confrontational and non-confrontational) resistance strategies it is clear as suggested by interview data that respondents employed techniques that tend to minimise open verbal confrontation, and maximise indirect and non-verbal forms of engagement. These strategies are simplified and presented on **Fig 6.3** below.

Fig 6.3 *Professional Middle Managers' Coping Strategies*

- 
1. offering suggestions;
 2. withdrawal and disengagement
 3. avoiding to talk or be verbally engaged;
 4. insisting the right thing be done;
 5. pointing out system shortfalls or weaknesses,
 6. doing exactly as told and not bending rules;
 7. withholding professional expertise

Whereas such inherently indirect, non-confrontational, non-verbal and non-deviant resistance strategies as shown on **Fig 6. 3** might appear as ineffective, they seem to

represent engagement tools by which PMMs sought to reposition themselves and renegotiate their authority. Apart from *offering suggestions; insisting the right thing be done; and pointing out system shortfalls*, all the other strategies employed are indirect and non-confrontational and appear unsuspicious. However, when critically scrutinised such coping strategies could be seen as effective in increasing PMMs' power and control in the organisation to the extent that they are able to use these to establish their power. Whereas such coping strategies might be normally interpreted as a form of 'consent' to their (professionals) subordination, they seemed to be employed paradoxically to enhance, reinforce and accentuate their control over the organisation. This suggests that by simply complying, subordinates could actually be exercising their control albeit indirectly, especially when their compliance becomes capable of amplifying *lapses* and *flaws* in organisational regulations, decisions and processes.

This form of resistance comes close to strategies employed by peasant farmers in Northern Malaysia, which Scott (1985) conceptualised into his famous theory of 'the weapons of the weak' (see chapter three for a summary). While the context on which Scott's theory was based is partly different (in a non-professional blue collar environment) from the context of my study, the theory has relevance for this study for two reasons. First, it occurred in an LDC context; second, it focused on individual (micro), rather than group behaviour in response to control from the top. Its relevance also lay in the fact that it draws attention to other forms of resistance, which combine apparent consent with non confrontational resistance as evident in this (my) study.

6. 8 Conceptualising Professionals' Coping Strategies

Professionals, in the cases studied, strategically sought to resist managerial behaviour by means which are both similar to and also significantly different from conventional resistance strategies as found in the control and resistance literature (discussed in chapter). A summary of this literature is that, in response to attempts of managerial control, workers either display militancy through open confrontations such as industrial actions; or acquiescence, expressed through docility and haggard outlook. In this thesis project, however, modes of resistance reflect neither category in particular; at best they come close to the latter in the sense that they involve little engagement in open confrontation. This is no doubt unsurprising as the unit of analysis in my research is non-unionised professional workers who tend to respond to control, real or imagined, in more complex and less straight-forward ways than do unionised blue or white collar workers on whose reactions earlier accounts of resistance were based. Professionals' modes of resistance, which come close to compliance or consent as presented on **Fig 6.3**, could produce results that might be as effective as, and perhaps even more effective than those produced by traditional strategies of resistance. In this thesis project for instance, when professionals appeared to have colluded in what looks like their own exploitation, the space for resistance seemed rather increased, not reduced as in previous accounts. It suggests again that PMMs employed compliance as a means of resisting management. This observation both suggests compliance may not necessarily reduce the space for resistance and may counter earlier accounts of control holding that, 'when workers are controlled their ability to resist is reduced (Case, 1995; du Gay, 1996; Barker, 1999; Carlone and Larson, 2006). The crucial question that remains to be answered with respect to this study however, is why PMMs employed the coping strategies they did. These modes of professionals' resistance suggest

there could be modes and strategies of resistance to control that might be uniquely professional, differentiated from non-professional workers and non-professional settings.

Like other workers, subjected to senior management control in various ways, PMMs exhibited considerable variation and complexity in their mode of resistance, distinguished from [conventional] worker resistance strategies. Their resistance to managerial discourses and control tended to occur with minimal verbal confrontation, avoiding as much open confrontation as possible. Quotes from chapter five provide evidence, which suggests that PMMs felt dissatisfied with a range of actions taken by management concerning outsourcing enacted by senior management, including how and by who decisions are made, all impinging on their decision-making power and professional autonomy. In response PMMs devised means, which although might portray them as consenting to their own subjugation, might also be interpreted as means by which they sought to enhance their capacity to renegotiate their allocated space, reconstruct their identity and reposition themselves in the organisation. By these means they reassert their power and status in the organisation by comparing their knowledge to that of external consultants with whom senior managers tend to consult. Realizing their suggestions to senior managers receive little attention, professionals withdrew from verbal confrontation and adapted a variety of non-verbal strategies whereby they sought to engage senior management.

Among such resistance strategies also was '*withholding professional expertise*' in situations where this is most needed to salvage a situation. This possibly suggests PMMs may find comfort in using this tool when technical difficulties arise in the process of implementing an initiative prescribed by external consultants without their (PMMs') inputs. I suggest that *withholding professional expertise* was employed intentionally to draw attention to the

weaknesses of the system but also to draw attention to the important position PMMs occupy in the organisation due perhaps to their expert knowledge. When they did, system weaknesses became amply obvious, which they readily harnessed to their advantage.

In summary, professionals sought to carry the message across without verbally engaging with management, showing their power [not weakness] through non-confrontational means, and contesting the situation non-verbally. In the sections following I re-examine these points with findings from authors from organisation studies literature.

6. 8. 1 *Disengagement and withdrawal*

In the cases studied for this project some professionals decided to discontinue any form of direct engagement with management over the encountered issues, suggesting a process of disengagement among professionals. Recently, Smith and Walshe (2004) had argued that professional middle managers' dissatisfaction with NPM reforms in healthcare is gradually resulting in a vicious circle of physician disempowerment, disengagement and disenchantment. Some (Regen, 2002) think this is similar to worker alienation, a viewpoint supported by Caron and Giauque's (2006) who found an evolving culture of fear and withdrawal among civil servants under NPM. Nonetheless, the problem with this conclusion is that there can hardly be said to be a complete disengagement as professionals, have through various indirect, subtle means, demonstrated their ability to engage without confrontation. There is thus some form of withdrawal but I argue this is restricted principally to overt, confrontational forms of engagement. While professionals' collusion in their own subordination might have reduced the space for verbal, overt resistance, it seems on the contrary, to increase their space for covert, subtle, fine-grained forms of resistance.

6. 8. 2 *Control, resistance, compliance and consent*

Much of earlier literature on control and resistance suggested that control or domination is achieved at the expense of resistance (Ascraft and Mumby, 2004; Carlone and Larson, 2006). This viewpoint however tends to mask the agency of humans with respect to their experience of contemporary life, inhibit responses that might help fight domination. It is suggested for example in this project that in giving their consent through subordinating to management, professionals might be aiming to resist managerial control. Rather than becoming confrontational or disengaging as some did, other professionals in this study decided to take active hold of reforms in order to exert their influence, a scenario similar to what Sehested (2002) reported in her study of medical professionals' resistance to managerial control. Thus through various indirect means they seemed to consent to managerial definitions of what they (professionals) are allowed or not allowed to do. Surely professionals had scanned the system, noticing the flaws. However, rather than being confrontational, professionals decided to be non-confrontational, and non-vocal, yet taking active control of the reform process in ways that seem to amplify the weaknesses and flaws of the system. By these strategies [consenting to their own subordination], professionals sought to reassert control, thus supporting an earlier finding that management control strategies could become employee resource (Rosenthal, 2004) for both resisting management, and for reasserting control.

Of course there are cases of non-confrontational resistance such as 'making out' in the case of shop floor workers; (Burawoy, 1979); 'playing up' within the UK Police (Butterfield et al, 2004) or 'circumventing the system' in a telephone banking establishment (Knights and

McCabe, 1998b) or even work-to-rule. But these all suffer one defect: their effective operation requires reliance on a close network of informal peer groups by collectively compromising certain standards to their selfish advantage (Butterfield et al, 2004). In that sense I describe these as *deviant means of resistance*, as those engaging them could risk facing disciplinary action if apprehended by management. Similarly, among professionals, the successful operation of such strategies requires a continuous reliance on the cooperation and support of fellow professionals (Kitchener, et al, 2000). These forms of resistance necessarily involve engaging in some form of *unacceptable behaviours* at work which can have serious implications for those who are exercised by them. **Fig 6.3** presents examples of other indirect forms of resistance [such as doing as told; not bending rules, insisting the right thing be done], the exercise of which does not require any form of deviance. I argue that as their use does not involve the breaking of any rules these forms of resistance methods could be safer for those employing them than deviant forms to the extent that they provide a form of safety-net ; it instead makes those who employ them appear more compliant. A quote would help:

‘There is no need to talk; just make sure you do what you are expected to...if something goes wrong and you’re sure that’s not your responsibility, just don’t worry...keep doing as you are told...nobody is breaking any rules here...we’re keeping every rule and we want to keep them well. If they think they need you, they would come to you (Estate Manager, KATH).

Since these modes of resistance normally represent a display of consent and compliance, traditionally they would be associated with weak, docile, uncomplaining types of employees (Thomas and Davies, 2005; Rosenthal, 2004). However, the potency of such seemingly

unthreatening modes of resistance may lay in the fact, as suggested in this study, that they may turn out to amplify the shortcomings of the system and could reinforce professionals' position against senior management control.

Such non-deviant resistance strategies employed by these PMMs could represent a perspective on control and resistance, and constitute one of the contributions of this thesis to the control and resistance literature.

6. 8. 3 *Individual action as against collective action: micro level resistance*

In the context of current personnel management strategies such as human resource management, believed by some to favour individualism over collectivism in the employment relationship, collective modes of resistance seem to be on the decline in preference for individualised modes. Additionally, the control strategies employed by management also seemed to have changed significantly following changes in the structure of employment in the age of the knowledge economy. Present modes of control, according to Barker (1993); and Carlone and Larson (2006), have tended to target the shaping of individual identities. Some scholars (Axtell, 2007) have described such modes of control as the 'last frontier of control' (If there is indeed a 'last frontier of control', then there must also be a corresponding balancing factor: last frontier of resistance, which I argue is epitomised by the styles of resistance evident in these cases studies). An important observation from the resistance strategies emerging from this study is that they occur at the micro (individual) level. Whether this is due to the existence of a strong organisational culture emphasising individualism and strong anti-union discourses this is an interesting point, and would constitute a subject of further inquiry.

6. 8. 4 *Control attempted through resistance*

Most of the resistance strategies employed in these studies can be described as inherently subtle, perhaps too smart to be noticed. Another observation is that, when confronted with a dilemma professionals decided to be loyal to their profession by sticking to their professional standards. This form of *professional allegiance* seems to provide them with a sort of consolation as they struggle to negotiate imposed managerial frameworks. For PMMs resistance was actually a means to gain recognition as well as wield control over management; it was employed to re-enact, recast, and establish their positions in the organisation. As one interviewee remarked:

... But when they run into difficulties I'm the first person to contact... this means they know I cannot be ignored at all times. So now I see that no matter what, they will come to me.... So now the question is not whether they will come; it's when they will come because whether they like it or not they will come (Technical Manager, K'Bu).

PMMs sought to exercise control by becoming actively involved in the organisation by keeping, not breaking the rules; this strategy is similar to 'working to rule' (explained in next section). This appears one of the means by which they intended to draw management's attention to the shortcomings of the system.

I do not intend to imply that there has been established in this thesis a direct causal link between professionals' chosen coping strategy and their organisation's performance. The accuracy of such a claim would be better established in a large scale quantitative research or longitudinal case studies; moreover, organisational performance would then also need to be

well defined in quantifiable, measurable terms. Nonetheless, as is typical of small scale qualitative research such as this, general conclusions can be drawn, based on critical analysis, about the potential of such indirect coping strategies on reform outcomes. It seemed as a response to a felt reduced discretion, professionals tend to find comfort in concentrating on their profession by drawing a conceptual distinction between their 'job' and their 'profession'. They decided to not allow conflicts arising from their jobs to affect their attitudes to their profession, which suggests their profession takes priority over their job. If such approach becomes the attitude professionals adapt to their job, its outcomes could be quite costly, if indirect; in fact it could be failure to attain organisational targets.

6.9 Conceptualising the mode of resistance

Evidence from this study suggests that professionals engaged in what could be described as self-reflection with regards to the space defined for them by senior management, and in the process, enacted their own space which became a site for engaging with senior management. Concerning this form of reflection, Collinson (2003: 529) observed:

As reflexively monitoring and purposive creatures, we humans have the capacity to reflect upon ourselves, and to see ourselves as separate from [what we have been defined by] the natural and social world around us...we thus have the capacity to envisage alternative realities, and to reconstruct and change [ourselves and] our world (paraphrase, mine).

What we think of ourselves is crucial to how we respond to the environment. This relates to the question of identity in the sense that our mode of reaction to stimuli depends

principally on our perception of our true selves. In these cases the types of reaction professionals demonstrated are suggestive of their perceptions about their true selves as either professionals or managers or both. In that sense Collinson's (2003) work provides an explanatory framework for these dynamics. Collinson identified three different (*resistant*, *conformist* and *dramaturgical*) selves that emerged as workers, trying to react to managerial control, recast and reconstruct themselves (see chapter three). He contended that from a Foucauldian perspective, organisational [and workplace surveillance] systems produce and reproduce 'disciplined or conformist selves'. Such self-disciplining modes, he observes, often tend to split individual selves between 'competing and conflicting ends', where for instance, by ascribing primary significance to life outside work, employees can begin to divide their identity between the *instrumental and indifferent me* at work; and the *real me* outside of work.

In the data analysed here all three categories of selves discussed above are present. In his conceptualisation, Collinson presents these three selves as separate categories, implying, that given three employees A, B and C, each could be any of these selves; however, his theorising remains unclear whether employee A could possibly cast themselves into each of these selves at the same or different times. In this thesis there is evidence to support Collinson's conceptualisation of selves; there is also evidence suggesting that these three selves could be possibly combined in one and the same worker at different times and under different circumstances. The picture that emerged from this research therefore, is a complex, non-linear mode of resistance whereby individuals construct, recast and produce themselves into different selves. It became possible for the same individual to respond to a given situation in ways that depict them as compliant, resistant, and dramaturgical selves concurrently. We could then argue that the three selves are, and could possibly become

easily embodied in one subject (person). In this case the subject (self) is either putting on these different identities at different times under different conditions or demonstrate some simultaneity in exhibiting these shifting identities in the sense that they sought to achieve resistance through conformity, and through a process that could be described as dramatizing.

Professionals begin by engaging means similar to compliance or colluding in their subordination in responding to the issues they encounter. Unsuspicious as these might seem, such strategies are meant to register their (professionals') disapproval and discontent with organisational initiatives, decisions and processes. Since they chose to employ indirect strategies, they have got to *act it out* in order not to be suspected as resisting; in other words, they pretend to be genuinely complying and consenting to organisational processes, senior management viewpoints and resources deployed to regulate their activities. In that sense they engage in *dramatizing*; by adopting these strategies, professionals come to occupy the position of actors-those dramatising. The drama comes to light when one tries to understand what seems to be a false-front, which represents a mismatch between their objective (resisting managerial control strategies), and vehicles and strategies (doing as told; just cooperate; don't bend rules as represented on **Fig 6.3**), which they employed in reaching this objective. In this case the same self, not different selves, is presented as conformist, dramaturgical, and resistant. In trying to resist management control professionals, perhaps conscious of the likely consequences of direct resistance, adopt strategies that depict them as conforming to or complying with management control.

Since both management and professionals as categories have sought to exercise control over each other, one could argue that control is at the very core of the interactions between

management and professionals in this project. Surely, managers' tendency to be part of every organisational process is underlain by the desire to be in control of these processes. Similarly, from Foucauldian analysis professionals' demand on managers to make the processes more transparent could be informed by a clear desire to exercise control over the process, hence the struggle for transparency which typified managerial-professional relationships in these case studies is to some degree to be understood a struggle for dominance (Levay and Waks, 2005). The foregoing are conflict-oriented, yet confrontation-free, and non-deviant resistance strategies in the sense that they do not require breaking any rules; they require strict observation of organisational processes, procedures and rules but in ways that result in protecting the interest of PMMs not necessarily that of the organisation.

In summary, PMMs: (i) sought to exercise control on the organisation without strikes, absenteeism, or many form of open confrontation characteristic of traditional worker resistance; (ii) engaged no deviant resistance strategies by engaging in unacceptable behaviours, which when caught could cost them their jobs; (iii) resisted in the comfort of their normal daily activities, by operating within [not outside of] the confines of organisational rules and regulations. It remains unclear however whether professionals have managed to exercise substantive control by their chosen modes of resistance. One thing remained clear that they have, by these drawn attention to the weaknesses and flaws in organisational decisions and initiatives of senior managers and external consultants. Such resistance strategies bear semblance with a popular unionised resistance strategy like 'working to rule'. Additionally, the manner in which they employed this strategy can be explained by reference to the exercise of 'expert power' among professionals. Their method of seeking control through compliance could be placed side by side peasants' forms of

resistance, which Scott (1985) theorised as the weapons of the weak (see Hanchard, 2004) (see chapter three for a detailed account). The following two subsections deal with work to rule, expert power and weapons of the weak, in turn.

6. 9. 1 *Work to rule*

‘Working to rule’ or ‘work to rule’ is a strategic practice whereby employee groups engage in industrial action without losing pay by following their work’s rules and regulations so strictly to the letter that either nothing gets done at all or only little gets done. It is a disguised form of industrial action in which employees work strictly according to the terms of their contract of employment. This requires working to the rules of the jobs without cutting corners or taking short cuts with the view to slowing down production without engaging in any illegal behaviour that might warrant a disciplinary action. Doran (2007) calls this *responsible rebellion* typified by Irish nurses’ industrial action which they embarked upon without losing public support and their wages. In a modern workplace almost every job is governed by a battery of rules, regulations, standing orders and procedures, many of them practically unworkable, which are often ignored and violated to facilitate the work process. By ‘working to rule’, disgruntled employees pay attention to each of these unworkable regulations that eventually result in confusion and unnecessary delays.

Professionals’ mode of resistance as shown in this study can be conceptualised as a form of ‘work to rule’ strategy. Unlike ‘work to rule’, however which occurs collectively as organised, unionised activity, professionals’ resistance in this thesis occurred at the micro level, and so are better conceptualised as ‘individualised version of work to rule’. It is unclear however why an apparently unionised strategy would be employed at the level of

the individual [in non-unionised fashion]. If indeed, a work-to-rule strategy has been consciously employed, then in finding an interpretation, one could speculate that unionised activity may not be very much welcomed in the context studied, although the research context provides little evidence for this argument. Should such a speculation be founded, it would only confirm the popularly held view that part of the task of management is to reduce professional autonomy and the power and influence of unions.

6. 9. 2 *Expert power*

The exercise of expert power has been a pervasive feature of most professions in organisation studies literature (see for example Reed, 1996). By their possession of cognitive and technical knowledge, professionals have been understood as having expert power, which in chapter three, I have explained (using Crozier, 1964 theorising) constitute a control resource by which they exert their power over those who benefit from the use of their expert knowledge. In this sense and as demonstrated by PMMs in this project, expert power constitutes a professional control resource. However, once professionals come to work in modern, especially public organisations, as in the cases for this project, how their expert power could be curbed by developing, fabricating and implementing control strategies and technologies to forestall abuse becomes one of the main goals of management. This ensuing power struggle typifies Crozier's (1964: 160-65) analysis of the dialectic between expert power and control within modern organisations, which I discussed in chapter three under managerial-professional relationships. The withholding of professional expertise, characteristic of professionals' subtle resistance strategy especially in the high-value/complex skills case in this project could be conceptualised as the exercise of expert power albeit in an individualised as opposed to unionised fashion.

6.9.3 *Weapons of the Weak*

Scott's (1985) influential weapons of the weak is another useful framework within which the coping strategies adopted by PMMs in this research project can be located. According to Scott the peasant studied for his thesis, had a clear choice of being confrontational and violent in their response resistance to the injustices of exploitation and unfairness they encountered in the rural economy. However, the strategies they adopted fell entirely short of any such confrontational approaches, relying more on compliance, through which they sought to resist. While they cognitively resisted the regime, their public compliance seemed to have completely masked any potential attempt to resist. This recourse to compliance-an attempt to avoid violence, Scott argued, was consistent with the culture of order and harmony, typical of peasants in most Eastern Asian countries at the time of his research. According to Scott (1985) and Hanchard (2004) while the cognitive resistance of the peasants contrasted very much with their public compliance, these were by no means conflicting; on the contrary, they sought to attain resistance through compliance, and could in fact be mutually reinforcing. Like the peasant farmers in the weapons of the weak, PMMs in this project resort to non-violence means of resistance. They clearly seek to achieve resistance through compliance, avoiding confrontation, and cooperating instead. Why did PMMs remain non-confrontational deviant? Surely, the demands imposed by a culture of order and harmony in a society of a clear power-distance could be responsible for PMMs' mode of resistance (I amplify this point in the next section).

Clearly professionals have access to control resources, which they can exercise in various ways, but which in this project they exercised, using such non-deviant behaviour. The

uniqueness of the findings from this project lies in the fact that these professionals' resistance strategies are being engaged at the individual level, and largely through compliance, exercised in an environment of expert power. Yet there is another possible explanatory variable for understanding why PMMs responded the way they did in this project, which I discuss in the next section.

6. 10 Interpreting managerial-professional relationships with reference to Ghana's economic, political and socio-cultural context

Precisely why professionals employed their chosen modes of resistance remains unclear however. In this section I attempt a set of possible explanations, based on features of Ghana's public sector, which could also be explained by reference to a range of socio-cultural and economic factors that tend to shape social interactions in Ghana in general, and in the public sector in specific.

These include cultural practices relating to power distance, party politics and political differences; respect; chieftaincy and traditional authority; the concept and practice of democracy; high unemployment rate; trust/mistrust; and corruption. I have discussed these in detail in chapter one; in this section I examine how these could shape interactions between senior managers and PMMs studied for this project.

6.10.1 *Power distance*

Cultural practices related to power distance (Hofstede, 1981) (refer to chapter one for fuller analysis of power distance) could possibly find their way to managerial-professional

relations where, due to the powerful position of senior managers defined and conferred by their status in the organisation, criticising them or directly objecting to their viewpoints might be thought unacceptable. This conclusion is based on the fact that during interviews where respondents needed to offer their candid assessment of managerial initiatives several of them asked that their responses be not recorded especially if their assessment was a criticism rather than praise for the initiative. Others made statements that suggested they were afraid of freely speaking their minds. A quote illustrates this:

Sometimes, you need to be careful...someone might think there's a personal interest somewhere or they might think you dislike someone, so it makes you become more careful. So many people prefer to keep quiet until things go wrong (Environmental Sanitation Manager KBu).

One could thus argue from this perspective that the distance created by the unequal distribution of legitimate power in the organisation could possibly explain why there was little use of confrontational and direct forms of resistance.

6.10.2 *Age-and-status-based respect*

With respect to status politicians, spiritual leaders and the rich still command considerable respect in Ghana. This age-and-status-based respect culture does not seem to fade away in subordinate-boss relationships at the contemporary workplace as illustrated in the quote below:

Uuhh!!! Some of these issues...I do not want to talk about them...sometimes, it's very difficult ...sometimes it's difficult because the politicians still have the power, and, who are you (Project Analyst, GHS, pilot interview-September 2004)?

Thus although respect for one's boss has been generally believed as a universal law of human nature and behaviour (Danso, 2007), it appears to be less critically employed in Ghana at least at the visible or displayed level. In Ghana, it seems subordinates have substantial difficulty in directly criticising their superiors, which might not be a good sign (Egbue, 2006). Similarly, in a large part, superiors still have considerable difficulty in accepting criticism from their subordinates.

6.10.3 *Chieftaincy and traditional authority:*

Where formal channels for questioning authority are not open to everybody, gossip and backbiting thus tend to become the way subjects complain and criticise whenever the powerful go wrong. It is possible that such king-subject relationships could be cascaded down to boss-subordinate, managerial-professional at the workplace where criticism of the former by the latter is generally un-welcomed. Within this context, criticisms must take on new shapes; strategies employed by professionals in this study might thus be described as new forms of criticism as these seem to be embedded in such a cultural orientation and context.

6.10.4 *Absence or distortions of democracy in LDCs*

A strong democratic culture in a bureaucratic civil service is a foundation for both the successful implementation of NPM reforms (Olowu, 2002), and curbing corruption in the

context of LDCs (Agyeman-Duah, 2004). In a country like Ghana, democracy is still a growing concept. Democracy is required to provide the right type of leadership with respect to decision-making; however, in African context, most managers adopt autocratic style of leadership as opposed to democratic participatory, consultative decision-making style (Munene et al 2000). In my opinion, the dynamics of chieftaincy institution, age-and-status-based respect and true democratic or participatory decision making as it operates in the West do not sit comfortably with each other. These African cultural values define ways that the art of management is done either by those who manage or are managed. According to Schwartz's (1999) observation, re-echoed by Munene et al (2000: 340):

cultural values underlie the rules that determine who is eligible to make decisions, what actions are allowed or constrained, what procedures must be followed, what information must or must not be provided, and what pay-offs are assigned to individuals. Within this framework, senior managers do not feel obliged to involve middle managers in taking crucial decisions, nor see the need to make organisational processes transparent enough.

Part of these cultural values among African managers as Munene et al (2000) have noted earlier on is that they tend to prefer contacting their peers or superiors rather than subordinates when making decisions. In that sense subordinates would be viewed more as recipients of organisational decisions and less as initiators and interrogators of such. This could explain some of the concerns raised by PMMs over how and by whom organisational decisions are made.

6.10.5 *Party Politics and political differences and party politicking*

I have, in chapter one made clear the influence of people's political persuasion and political affiliation on their lives and decisions, especially with respect to issues with considerable political underpinning. I have also observed that political meanings could be read into criticising one's boss at work; relating to one's superiors in this type of environment thus calls for 'being careful' and 'circumspect' about what one says and how they say it. This phenomenon could possibly explain why during interviews, there were several instances where respondents advised that certain responses be taken off record but also why less direct means were employed in responding to issues encountered under senior management. The above however remain speculations based on the nature of interactions from the interviews, and further research would be required to substantiate them.

6.10.6 *Outcomes of attempts to control corruption*

I have, in chapter one, discussed corruption and its devastating consequences for public sector reforms in LDCs in general, and in Ghana in particular. Interview transcripts from the case studies suggest that due to the fear of corruption, senior managers resorted to increased centralisation as opposed to decentralisation, crucially central to effective NPM reforms. However, as the analyses have suggested such increased centralisation has delivered paradoxical consequences. On the one hand (from senior managers), increased centralisation is believed to curb corrupt practices; on the other (from PMMs), it has actually acted as a motivator for corrupt practices as people, willing to avoid the associated long delays, tend to 'pay their way through' or 'grease officials' hands' [a common term used in Ghana for describing bribery]. Centralisation then produced two negative outcomes. First, it defeated a fundamental objective of NPM: to devolve power to middle

management (in this case, professionals). Second, it was believed to engender corrupt practices, and further reduce the level of trust. I must emphasise however that the challenge of corruption to outsourcing is a global problem, as I have made clear in chapter two (see also Greenaway, 1995). The magnitude of the challenge of corruption within the Ghanaian context however is that it tends to lead to very low levels of trust, producing management systems and strategies that result in procedural inertia, which ultimately undermine the very objectives underpinning NPM reform initiatives. I discuss the subject of trust in the next section.

6.10.7 *Trust/mistrust*

The contradictory relationship between corruption and outsourcing in plays the context of LDCs has already been discussed in chapter two. Whilst my analysis partly suggests that controlling corruption is one rationale for outsourcing, it also suggests paradoxically that outsourcing (especially the contract awarding process) has often tended to fuel corrupt practices. From a political viewpoint outsourcing was seen as a means of building public trust because it was believed to encourage transparency by inviting private organisations to be part of the delivery of public services. Yet professional managers are concerned about their not being involved in making outsourcing decisions, and the lack of transparency surrounding outsourcing contract process, which suggests the anticipated public trust could not be realised or guaranteed. Trust, as made clear in chapter one, is a rather slippery subject in Ghana because of peculiar features engrained in the Ghanaian culture which have the potential to further jeopardise the already low level of trust. Uncertainties create mistrust; and mistrust leads to little delegation. For instance, in this study, this could explain senior managers' resolve to be personally involved in most organisational processes

due also to fears of being penalised if things do not go well. Professionals' resentment that senior managers have resorted to increased centralisation of procedures rather than decentralisation, following NPM reforms could be explained on the basis of the fact that they interpreted such detailed procedures as mistrust.

6.10.8 *High unemployment rate*

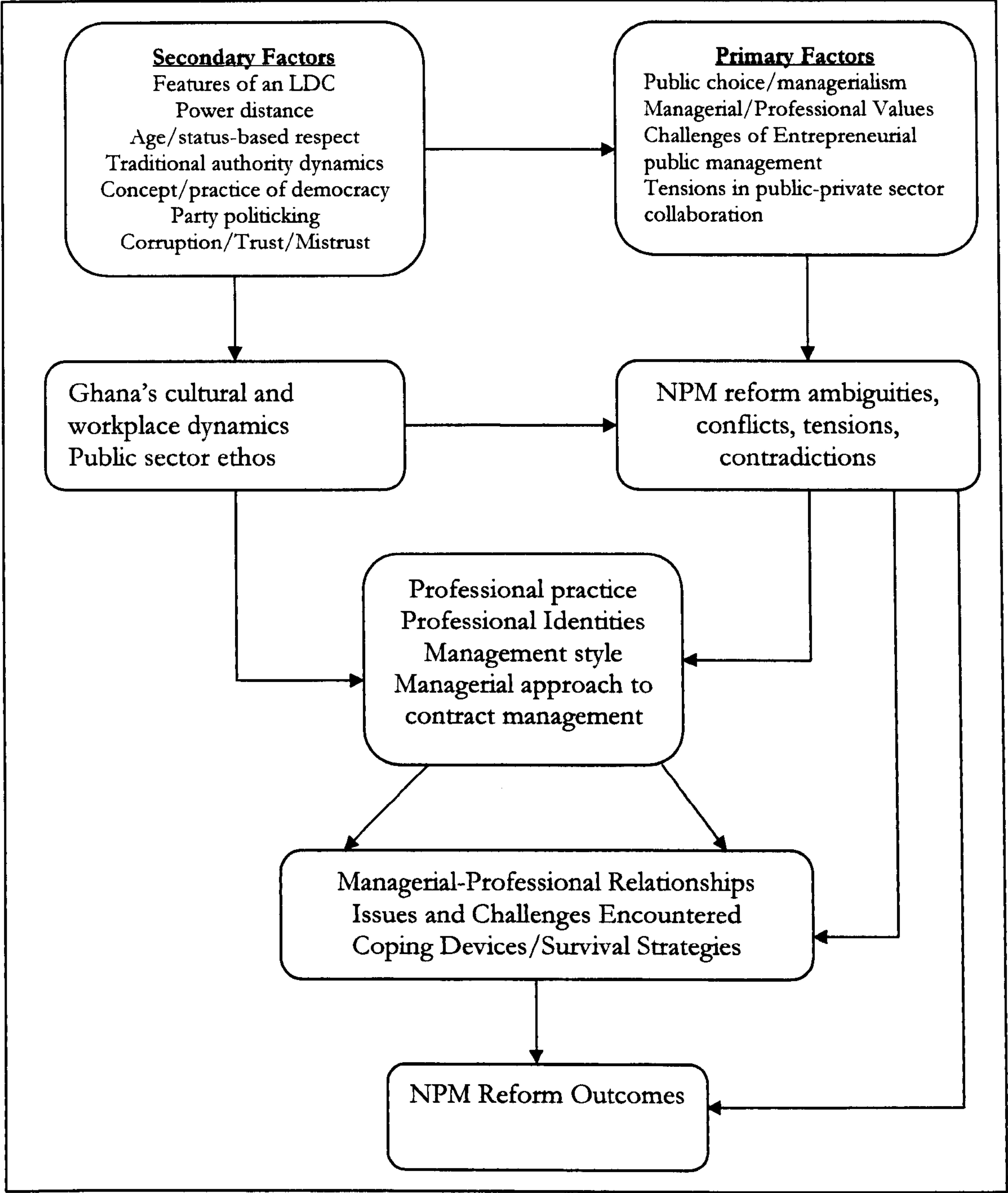
I have discussed in chapter one how unemployment could influence workplace interactions as they affect this project. If PMMs' job could be on the line for directly criticising senior management, then it is likely the former would use more subtle, indirect means of resistance and criticism as happened in these case studies. Thus the way that PMMs responded to the issues they encountered would be best understood and appreciated by reference to these complex, intertwined socio-cultural factors that underpin the attitudes of Ghanaians.

6. 11 Summary of Factors determining the issues of concern to PMMs and their adopted coping devices

The relevant questions that this chapter has attempted to answer include: What issues generate conflicts between senior and professional middle managers? How did senior managers and PMMs respond to these issues? Why did they employ their chosen strategies? What lessons can we learn from all this? As the discussions suggest, the issues faced by PMMs as well as coping devices and resistance strategies they adopted could be jointly determined, or at least influenced by a number of factors, which might fall in at least four main categories: (i) The contradictory, tensional, conflictual and paradoxical nature of the

NPM model and the concomitant tensional relationships unleashed between managers and professionals by the conflicts between managerial objectives and professional values; (ii) the challenges presented by the collaboration (outsourcing agreements) between profit-making private outsourcing firms and non-for profit government health institution, now trying to operate as a private business entity (corporatised organisation) (iii) the challenges faced by LDCs with NPM reforms due to certain characteristic features; and (iv) particular local conditions defined by the political, socio-economic and cultural environment that define social interaction, and the workplace dynamics in Ghana, which provide the context in which this research is being conducted. These are illustrated in **Fig 6.4** below.

Fig 6.4 *Interactive Framework for Conceptualizing Managerial-Professional Relationships under NPM Reform in Ghana*



These different concepts interact in various ways to contribute to the issues encountered, the coping devices adopted, which altogether affect the NPM outcomes in Ghana. But first of all it is important to identify some primary factors, and some secondary factors, and how the former are mediated by and through the latter to provide the context for this research. The primary factors in **Fig 6.4** are to the right and include the conceptual map of NPM, which then produce the inherent ambiguities, tensions and conflicts. The secondary factors to the left side of the diagram consist of features of LDCs combined with Ghana's traditional value system made of its political, cultural and socio-economic characteristics. These together define the cultural and workplace dynamics that shapes the ethos in Ghana's public service. These secondary factors then compound the tensions, ambiguities, conflicts and paradoxes inherent in NPM reforms in Ghana. Together, these primary and secondary factors interact to shape management style, contract management strategies, professional identities as well as professional practice. All these in turn influence and shape managerial-professional interactions and relationships; the issues PMMs encounter, as well as the coping devices and resistance strategies adopted in responding to them. It is within the management style and professional practice that the managerial-professional relationships and interactions, issues encountered as well as coping strategies investigated and identified in this study are all located. Together, these interact in a non-linear fashion to deliver NPM outcome in Ghana, as in many other developing countries.

In an LDC (African) economy such as Ghana, the outcome of NPM reforms are influenced by a number of factors as outlined above. Whether and the extent to which NPM reforms would be successful would depend largely on the compatibility of the NPM model, its ambiguities, tensions, conflicts, contradictions and paradoxes, on the one hand with the local workplace dynamics, shaped and determined by the political, economic and

socio-culturally embedded local context, on the other (Fig 6.4 above clearly illustrates this). In light of Western influence on many traditional cultural values I am not laying claim to the fact that the foregoing features are necessarily present in every part of Ghana and in all workplaces. As Danso (2007) claimed, 'modernity is taking a gradual but firm root in Ghana, and some of the cultural practices are giving way to modern Western-influenced values'. Globalisation and internationalisation are fast producing corrosive effects on so-called national cultures; moreover, even traditionally, Ghana is not a one-culture society. However, the foregoing observations are helpful in serving as a reference point for understanding some of the findings from this thesis project. While the non-compatibility of managerialism and its ideals with professionalism and its values system has been identified as one cause of the conflicts between managers and professionals studied in this project, interactions between senior managers and PMMs are also being mediated by the set of local factors identified above. The understanding gained from the impacts of such systemic factors on managerial-professional interactions under NPM [in outsourcing public services] would be a starting point for answering the third research question, which I turn to in the next section.

6. 12 What lessons can we learn from questions 1 and 2 above to move forward our understanding of the implication of the interaction between managerial authority and professional autonomy for NPM reform outcomes in a developing non-Western country context?

This section addresses the major Research Question 3, which seeks to explore the lessons that can be learned from the analysis of Research Questions 1 and 2 above. The answers suggested to these questions can help move forward our understanding of the nature of

managerial-professional relationships under NPM, the specific nature and challenges of implementing NPM reforms in LDCs, and how these affect NPM-type reform outcomes in these countries. An interesting finding that emerged (chapter five) relates to the relationships between the level of skill involved in the function being outsourced on the one hand, and the nature of managerial-professional interactions and extent of managerial-professional conflicts on the other. There is some evidence to suggest that professionals engaged in areas of high-value skills are more likely to become the targets of managerial control [largely due to the complexity associated with managing the outsourcing contracts in this case] than those engaged in areas of low-value skills, where managing outsourcing contracts looks much simpler and straightforward. I have, on the basis of the above suggested that greater conflicts surround the management of high-value skills function contracts than those of low-value skills.

This could be explained on the basis of professionals' inherent tendency to strive to exercise control over a territory over which they are believed to possess expert power (.Crozier, 1964). Evidence from the case studies suggests professionals attempted to protect their territories defined by their domain of expertise and authority, continuously redefined, negotiated and reconstructed by senior managers through their regular, systematic anxiety to look into what happens in those 'seemingly professionally-colonised territories' as Reed's (1996) argument suggests. For instance, one can clearly see the conflictual and tensional character of managerial-professional relationships from the transcripts of managers from the high-value skills areas, especially managers from biomedical engineering and technical departments from both KATH and KBu (chapter five). It suggests both professionals and managers expect to see a greater level of transparency in processes and procedures. From this perspective, the threat presented by

professionals' exercise of control by virtue of their access to expert power, is resisted and managed by managers on the basis of their legitimate, positional power conferred on them by their organisation. In fact, management seemed to confront this threat of professionals' expert power by their increasing reliance on external consultants, who serve as a catalyst for 'decoding' professionals' expert knowledge. Arguably, the shortfall in senior managers' knowledge, which constitutes professionals' power, is met through consultants' hire.

One effect then of differences in skill level of functions outsourced is differences in complexity with respect to managing the outsourcing of the given function. Where skill required for managing outsourcing contract is complex, management would tend to view professionals' power as a threat, and seek to exercise control over the work process by hiring the services of external consultants. Therefore as well as mistrust in professionals, an underlining motivation of senior management's increased use of consultants is the need to render the complex interface managed by professionals more transparent. In the process, making decisions on crucial issues is transferred from PMMs and placed with consultants, which is one of the sources of the conflicts between senior managers and PMMs. This possibly explains why in relative terms, there is lesser degree of conflict between managers and professionals in the cleaning cases characterised by less complex and much more straightforward skills, where no complex decision making is required from PMMs, than in the installation and maintenance cases.

6. 13 Contribution to the NPM Model and its applicability to LDCs

In this section I examine what happens when the public sector of LDCs encounter the NPM model due to its lack of internal consistency with respect to the three public

administration values (Hood, 1991) set out in chapter (Table 2.2). I argue that when applied to LDCs, NPM reforms not only deliver distorted and unintended consequences due to factors inherent in these countries, discussed fully elsewhere (see section 2.13, chapter two); the NPM variants implemented in most LDCs are arguably distorted versions. It is crucial to reiterate here the centrality of attaining economic efficiency [pursued through frugality and parsimony in public resource use (Hood, 1991)] to the NPM reform agenda. Moreover, the realisation of this agenda essentially requires greater political control of the public purse through relying effectively on a cadre of managers whose managerial competence and role are considered crucial in this endeavour (Aucoin, 1990). It is this emphasis on cost efficiency, and the pivotal role of managers, and increased trust in their (managers') integrity and capacity to manage public services effectively and economically that partly distinguishes NPM from traditional public administration. I draw on Hood (1991), who argued that traditional public administration emphasises essentially three sets of values whereas the NPM model emphasises just one of these. To make this distinction a little clearer, readers are redirected to Table 2.3 (chapter two) reproduced from Hood (1991), in which three essential values upon which traditional public administration is premised are set out.

These administrative values according to Hood and Jackson (1991), reproduced in Hood (1991) are special mechanisms built into the modelling of public services so as to ensure (i) cost efficiency and effectiveness; (ii) fairness and equity; and (iii) trust, reliability and stability in delivering such services. As shown on the table above *sigma-type values*-values NPM basically promotes-emphasise economy, parsimony and frugality; *theta-type values* emphasise honesty, openness and fairness; while *lambda-type values* stress security, resilience, and robustness in delivering public services. Hood (1991) had argued that the NPM model

essentially emphasises *sigma-type* values to the neglect of many aspects of the other two values. Two decades on, these concerns still remain, and have been re-echoed recently (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999; Whitfield, 2001; Hoque and Mills, 2001; Caron and Giaque, 2006). A common feature in these analyses is the criticism that NPM reforms overemphasize the economic dimension of public services, resulting in the neglect of other equally important values. In that sense as Hood argues NPM reforms are largely *sigma-type*, targeted at achieving results by fixing resources to specific targets, and doing so at the least cost, aiming thus at *purposefulness* through *leanness*.

However, when applied to a developing country context such as Ghana the NPM model is confronted with serious issues that question its very internal consistency. This raises legitimate questions about its compatibility with and applicability for LDCs against the backdrop of the economic, political and socio-cultural context of LDCs as evidenced from this project. The principal factor identified by foreign analysts as the cause of failure is the poorly developed public sectors in these countries (see chapter two), as a well-developed and functioning public sector and public service ethos is generally accepted as the foundation for effective NPM reforms (Hood, 1995; McCourt, 2001; Hope and Chikolu, 2001). This absence of well-developed public service ethics is further compounded by the challenge of corruption, a mediating factor, which, I have argued in this thesis, has become a more endemic and systemic problem to LDCs than developed OECD countries, where the NPM model originated.

Corruption, which in African context is a rather fluid subject, being inextricably intertwined with some of the daily cultural practices (Egbue, 2006) has, and continues to pose a substantial challenge, producing three significant effects on NPM reforms, which tend to

defeat the very reform objective in these countries. First, at the institutional level, [between politicians and senior public managers], the anticipated managerial devolution has remained largely a rhetoric (Christensen and Laegreid, 2002), where managerial devolution has occurred, this comes to be greatly subsumed in exogenously-predetermined political objectives and ambitions as these cases have vividly elucidated. Two, at the organisational level [between senior management and middle management, which in this study also largely constitutes professionals], the devolution, which also implies professional discretion and autonomy) remains to a large extent a mirage, and circumscribed in (senior) managerial agenda. Three, and as a result, NPM reforms have shown greater conceptual and practical shift away from *sigma-type* values towards *theta-type values*, tending to emphasise rectitude, fairness, mutuality, due process (procedures and processes), and a structured, rather than flexible approach to treating organisational information (Condrey et al, 2001; Awortwi, 2002; Caron and Giaque, 2006). These have all become evident from this study.

Essentially, these, often unintended consequences are largely due to fear of corruption, which could potentially result in some form of administrative catastrophe or negative externalities in delivering public services. Within the framework of traditional public administration such a catastrophe would represent a standard of failure (under *lambda-type values*) according to Jackson and Hood (1991). Indeed, in the context of LDCs such as Ghana the shortcoming of the NPM model lies in its failure to ensure the realisation of *lambda-type values* ['resilience' and 'robustness']. In effect, *theta-type values*, which tend to emphasise 'sticking to procedures' and increasing control from the centre, resulting from an obsession with the need to prevent corruption are unleashed. This is already occurring in both in politician-managerial relationships, where politicians are resorting to increased use of more complicated contracts, deployed through contractualism; and in managerial-

professional relationships at the workplace, where PMMs face continuous subjection to the rigors of managerialism, with its concomitant emphasis on the 'accounting logic', and cost containment philosophy as evidenced by the data presented in this thesis. Admittedly, in applying NPM reforms to a developing country-context such as Ghana, attention seems to be drifted away from *sigma-type values* [due to an obsession with the need to curtail corruption] and redirected to *theta-type and lambda-type values*. All this is meant to forestall a system breakdown, which corruption engenders. The net effect of this corruption-scare consciousness is a significantly reduced level of trust, one of the foundations on which the NPM model has been premised, and this has distorted the very model of NPM at least in the context of LDCs.

Within this framework, when greater emphasis was put on *theta-type* values through increased bureaucratic centralisation, paradoxical outcomes were realised in that this neither ensured the materialisation of the anticipated *lambda-type* values in the form of controlled corruption, honesty and fairness nor the realisation of *sigma-type* values such as frugality and parsimony in resource use (cost efficiency and cost containment). On the contrary, it tended to deliver quite the opposite outcome of increased corruption resulting from delays associated with increased administrative barriers, with people bribing their way through, as evidenced from the interview analysis from these case studies. The result is a further diversion of senior managers' attention from core activities to a range of peripheral activities, demonstrated by their aspiration to be part of most organisational processes or hiring external consultants to manage this interface. There are associated costs either way. Mistrust seems an underlying element in these forms of senior-middle management interactions, and is resulting in the neglect of in-house expertise as illustrated from the installation and maintenance cases in this study. This has the eventual potential to reduce

internal [human] capacity development, as PMMs gradually get crowded-out from active involvement in organisational processes, thereby increasing public organisations' dependence on external consultants and service providers. An obvious net effect is a seriously jeopardised and reduced organisational knowledge and memory, which has serious cost implications for public organisations. This tends to defeat one of the fundamental objectives for outsourcing public services, which in the contexts studied was to address capacity shortage and cost-related issues.

There are several lessons that can be learned from all this, a significant one being that the type of NPM practiced in most LDCs has been significantly distorted by the effects of the contextual factors noted above. Barely a decade after NPM had entered the public management equation, Hood (1995) after studying NPM reforms in a number of OECD countries concluded that, when applied to different country contexts, particularly non-Western developing countries, NPM is likely to deliver entirely different, varying outcomes, which would be interesting to observe. Indeed one obvious outcome is that when the *global order* (NPM model) encounters the *local reordering* (local conditions-produced by the factors identified in this thesis) what emerges is nothing more than a locally ordered NPM variant, a caricature of the Western model. It is here, in the application of NPM to a developing country context that my thesis especially seeks to contribute to our understanding with respect to the face of NPM reforms, or the 'attire the emperor (NPM) is putting on' (Hood, 1995) in these countries. In spite of the now steadily growing, if still relatively scanty, literature on NPM in African context (Polidano, 1999; Olowu, 2003; Hope and Chikulo, 2002; Awortwi, 2003), only few (Munene et al, 2000; Egbue, 2006) attempt explaining reform failures from a non-Western perspective by examining the potential role played by particular African cultural practices in this interface.

The picture that emerges from pro-Western analysts' evaluation of NPM reforms in LDCs is one that portrays African public sectors as domains where the application of Western-type NPM models is still problematic, suggesting that Africans have still not got it [the Western model of reform-the ideal public service ethics which all nations must embrace]. Such a perspective blames African public management reform failures on the weaknesses of African public management systems rather than on the incompatibility between the Western-type Weberian public administration and its modified [NPM] version on the one hand, and African cultural value systems, which provide the workplace dynamics that informs attitudes towards public management practice on the other. Although theoretically, I am not entirely opposed to such a perspective on the evaluation of NPM reforms in Africa, I do believe unnecessary emphasis on it has tended to mask a range of equally important factors, which cannot be explained simply by reference to the weaknesses of African public sectors. There is a growing body of academic analysis that is now beginning to interrogate the compatibility of current transplanted forms of public management imported to practiced in African countries with the culturally-based traditional practices of Africa (I shed more light on this in the final chapter).

6. 14. Contribution to managerial-professional relationships in the public sector

Relating to managerial-professional relationships, the enactment of the position of the professional manager, which is in actual fact a coupling of two contradictory and tensional categories (managers and professionals) has introduced a range of issues with respect to managerial-professional relationships and identities. As the following argumentation suggests it appears both PMMs and senior managers do encounter conceptual difficulties in recognising the role and position of the former. There are possible confusions and

uncertainties as to whether the position of professional manager (PMM) helps develop [in the professional] new perspectives, attitudes and value systems that privilege and advance the claims of managerialism over professionalism or whether it helps reassert the position of professionals against managers.

There are, as evidenced from this study, possible conflicts that the subordination of professionals to managerialism discourses in the process of implementing outsourcing initiatives is likely to generate in professional managers. There are internal contradictions and skirmishes likely to arise from such role conflicts as professional managers take stances which might identify them more with one category (management or professionals) and less with another. In this case, PMMs not only have conflicts with senior managers; they have conflicts within themselves with respect to their role. It appears from the interactions between senior managers and PMMs that they still see each other, to large extent as two distinct, often opposing categories although PMMs obviously crave to be involved in management decision-making.

This study has little evidence to support claims by earlier analysts (Exworthy and Halford (1999) that there is a shift away from a conflictual perspective to a more collaborative perspective on managerial-professional relationships. There is however some evidence to suggest that under some circumstances, conflicts can still persist to a high degree especially to the extent that PMMs still experience conceptual difficulties in identifying themselves as a management category at one time, and a professional category at another, depending on the role they play. Due to a number of mediating factors within the socio-cultural context of the cases including mistrust resulting from corruption, professionals are increasingly endeavouring, through various means of resistance, to keep their professionalism and

professional identity from managerial control, while managers are increasingly usurping professionals' positions through curbing professionals' influence and autonomy over organisational decisions, processes, resources and information. To the extent that these mediating factors enumerated above are likely to persist, so too are the associated conflicts. Since these mediating factors are intertwined with the cultural fabric of Ghana (see chapter one) and of most African LDCs, it is fair to argue that conflicts are likely to remain a pervasive part of managerial-professional relationships under NPM.

From the interactions between senior and middle management a range of conceptual issues seem to surround the role of the professional manager. It is unclear, for instance, whether PMMs are demanding greater autonomy to enhance their performance as professionals and reinforce their resistance to managerial control or they do so to enhance their capacity to perform as managers and contribute to overall organisational success or both. Additionally, it remains unclear whether the reported senior management's control of professionals is a culmination of an ideological battle between managers and professionals or whether it is underpinned by an authentic commitment to their proxy role in ensuring that public services are not affected by the social closure-building and rent-seeking behaviour of professionals. The dynamics of some of the issues discussed earlier on leaves one with the impression that both managers and professionals are still struggling to accept each other and collaborate effectively for organisational success. One could also speculate that senior management still struggles to accept the position of the professional manager, who is not just a professional but also a manager with similar objectives and goals although methods might differ.

6.15 Reflections and Conclusion

A number of questions are raised in this, including whether and to what extent PMMs are being given the autonomy and discretion they require to operate effectively in their position and capacity as managers (not just as professionals). A host of others include: To what extent have senior managers understood the professional manager's augmented role or position? Does PMMs' autonomy cover strategic or day-to-day issues or both? Against the backdrop that when PMMs' autonomy is restricted to a small range of operational decisions this is unlikely to encourage in them a positive subjective response (Procter et al, 1999), are senior managers willing to accept professional managers into their fraternity as those with relevant experience that the organisation can tap for goal attainment rather than self-seeking professionals whose demands must be resisted and curtailed?

The role of the professional manager (PMM) thus appears to be surrounded by issues of conceptual complexity. Such complexities are brought to light when we address ourselves to the following sets of conceptual issues, with which I bring the chapter to a close:

1. Does the role of professional manager (PMM) help offer the professional new perspectives, attitudes and value system that privilege and advance the claims of managerialism over professionalism (Clarke and Newman, 1994) and alienate the professional from their values? Does it contribute to breaking the front of professionals, creating corrosions in their professional solidarity as Sehested (2002) claimed? There are, as evidenced from this study, possible conflicts that the subordinating of professionals under managerialism discourses is likely to unleash in professional managers. There are possible internal contradictions likely to arise

from such role conflicts as professional managers take stances which identify them either with managers or with professionals. Further research can be looking into this. Specifically in LDCs where resources are scarce, unearthing these conflicts, and helping professionals to have better understanding of the need to reconcile their expectations of professional standards with their managerial responsibilities can help reduce cost appreciably, especially in the contract administration process.

2. Are senior managers struggling to make a conceptual decoupling of professionals' role into that which categorises them as professionals and that categorizing them as managers? There is need for such categorisation, which should relate to what professionals do rather than who they are known to be. It is possibly the absence of such conceptual decoupling of roles that make managers treat professionals as a self-seeking group committed to protecting their selfish interests. In effect, professionals' *boundary-spanning roles* do not seem to include *boundary-spanning authority* required to perform in their position, not only as professionals but also as managers.
3. When professionals express frustrations about the decline in their autonomy, are such references to autonomy restricted to only their professional territories or their managerial domains as well? What is implicit from such a fall in professional autonomy however, is that professionals' capacity to manage (as managers), has also been reduced. The data presented here indicate that PMMs tend to identify more with their profession and professional role than with management and managerial objectives. Are professionals themselves still struggling to make this conceptual break from the managerial-professional dichotomisation?

4. The increased use of consultants implies less use of PMMs in making decisions regarding technical issues. The resultant effect is that organisational knowledge [tacit and embedded], which used to be stored in PMMs, is being gradually removed from PMMs to be placed in consultants. This is an area of further research, and researchers would be looking at the effects of outsourcing in highly technical areas on the development or dwindling of the in-house capacity of public organisations in the Ghanaian context in particular and in Sub-Saharan Africa, generally.

To conclude, it suffices to state that on this evidence of outsourcing in an LDC, NPM-type reforms are beset with a range of challenges, which, among other factors, can be traced to fairly antagonistic relations between managers and professionals at the institutional level. Therefore reforms could not be said to have been very successful. However, the picture should not be that gloomy; cooperation between and understanding of the role of each other (category) should produce more positive results. This cooperation would be substantially enhanced if senior managers and PMMs see and relate to each other as colleagues with different roles, working towards the same objective rather than as rivals struggling for organisational power and identity. A practical way to this end is for there to be proper coordination and openness in making decisions on subjects over which professionals have authority. It is important to seek their views on critical decisions especially with respect to areas or functions to be outsourced, organisations to provide outsourcing service, as well as practical ways to implement outsourcing decisions. Professionals need to equally understand the dynamics of the current new managerialism; they need to be aware of the necessities imposed on public organisations by the current global financial challenges. Such understanding should make them reconcile their

commitment to professional standards with the demands and realities of managing a cost efficiency-oriented public sector. Attitudinal and mindset change is thus required from PMMs as well as senior managers, whose joint cooperation could lead to more desirable reform outcomes.

Such understanding of each other's role would tend to improve relationships and improve service delivery in public organisations in LDCs where similar dynamics as those found in these cases apply. When senior managers and PMMs begin to seek deeper understanding of each other's work, then PMMs would gain deeper understanding of management-related issues while senior managers deepen their understanding of the professionals' work. Although achieving this form of cooperation would be helpful, it did not form part of this research; this could constitute a topic for further enquiry.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

7. 0. Introduction

This thesis has attempted to investigate the challenges faced by professional middle managers in two corporatised health institutions in Ghana in which some support functions are outsourced in line with the NPM framework. Five main tasks are accomplished in this thesis. First, recent public sector changes (NPM reforms) are traced and mapped along various parameters, including political, managerial, organisational and service delivery reforms, with associated practices and ethos clearly distinct from traditional public administration. Second, how these developments in the West are mirrored in LDCs especially Africa, and the range of challenges encountered as a result of peculiar features symptomatic of these countries are discussed. Third, the impacts of these changes on redefining and re-categorising managers and professional bureaucrats in the public sector with respect to changing roles, responsibilities and authority, and the implications of these for the relationships, interactions and co-options among the identified categories are drawn. Fourth, the research methodology, method, and findings are presented in the context of Ghana, where a range of systemic factors tend to moderate reform outcomes along particular lines. Fifth and finally, the findings are discussed in line with relevant literature and in the context of Ghana in particular, and LDCs in general. I recap these milestones in this chapter and conclude it with critical observations, and a call for a change in both the thinking about and research agenda on management systems in Africa and public management in LDCs.

7.1 Major Changes

The NPM agenda is fundamentally a calculated attempt to alter how politicians do politics with respect to public management; how the public sector itself is administered; organisational designs established to support the administration of the public; and how the business of service delivery is pursued. To begin with, politicians have been endowed under NPM with increased powers to play a much more active and central role with respect to deciding, designing, and delivering public policies, in addition to determining the scope and reach of the public sector itself. Politicians determine the public space by deciding what should or should not constitute the public (Newman, 2005). Increasingly, politicians are being socialised into thinking more strategically like chief executives, and are through contracts and performance agreements increasingly contractualising their relationships with public managers (Christensen and Laegreid, 1999; 2002). All these are grounded partly in public choice theory.

Additionally, public administrators are being socialised into the prescriptions of managerialism, and are better referred to as managers to reflect managers' pivotal role in the NPM reform agenda and discourse. Senior public managers' position has been strengthened and their scope for discretionary behaviour extended, all in the belief that it would make them more effective in confronting the public sector inefficiency challenge. Indeed the ideal public servant is one who thinks strategically, provides visionary leadership; is proactive and results-focused, and guarantees value for public money. Surely the ideal manager epitomises Hood's (1991) description as 'a named person at the top (chief executive) with active, visible, discretionary control of organisational resources, free to manage', axiomatically supported by the claim that accountability requires clear assignment of responsibility for action, not diffusion of power. This is grounded in the

concept of managerialism or new managerialism, which I treat in detail in chapter two, and also in chapter three. To moderate this enhanced managerial authority, managers have to learn to operate in a highly contractual environment reflected in the increase in contracts and performance agreements, and coupled with the multiplicity of performance measurement initiatives, typified by regular performance monitoring reports.

Furthermore, public organisations are being increasingly restructured, reconfigured and redesigned in ways, which Hood (1991) summarised as 'breaking up of formerly monolithic units into corporatised units around products, and operating on decentralised one-line budgets' (chapter two). This form of organisational design both allows optimum exercise of augmented politicians' and managers' powers, and also paves the way for private involvement in delivering public services as a means to ensuring the competition necessary for attaining efficiency.

Finally, public service provision no longer remains the preserve of public organisations, as greater private involvement in public provision is encouraged, pursued through a multiplicity of contractual arrangements including outsourcing; public-private partnerships; private finance initiatives; and franchises that bring the public and private together. Such arrangements are believed to both ensure greater transparency in service delivery and guarantee public institutions access to private capital and expertise. These reforms are meant to change citizens' contract with the state, alter the ethos and philosophy of public organisations, and change the provision of public services permanently. The commonest of such arrangements is outsourcing (chapter two), central to this thesis.

7.2 NPM Reforms in LDCs

About two decades ago, Hood (1991) wondered what the form of NPM reforms would be in non-Western LDCs where [Western, Weberian] public service ethos has not been developed. A decade ago, Polidano (1999) reported from a comprehensive research on LDCs, the growth in NPM reforms, relating the bizarre manner in which reform implementation occurs, and the associated challenges that negatively impact on reform outcomes. Quite recently, a growing number of studies (Condrey et al., 2001; McCourt, 2001; Hope, 200; Awortwi, 2002; Olowu, 2003; Caulfield, 2006) on NPM reforms in LDCs have drawn attention to a myriad of challenges responsible for NPM reforms failure. These include inefficient bureaucratic systems; absence of realistic wages and remuneration systems resulting in shortage of qualified personnel to provide the required capacity; absence of effective regulatory, accountability and law enforcement frameworks; and an engrained political interference and patronage culture, seen as either caused by or leading to corruption (chapters one and two).

Much more recently, a handful of researchers have suggested that Western-type NPM reforms fail in LDCs especially African countries because they do not reflect the cultures of these countries (Dibie and Herron, 2002; Haruna, 2004; Economic Commission for Africa, 2005), calling for a uniquely African management system that reflects and enables African cultures (Jackson, 2004; Egbue, 2006). These findings suggest that NPM reform failures are better understood as a function of incompatibility of reforms with the cultural practices and value system of the local context, pointing to a real need for a shift in both policy and research focus and agenda to address this challenge. It came to light in the course of this study that there are puzzles to be addressed with respect to NPM reforms especially in a

developing country like Ghana. NPM reforms raise a number of issues in LDCs as reforms elements encounter a range of local factors, producing very different results, many of which are highlighted throughout this thesis

7.3 Redefinition and re-categorisation of public managers

These global developments have led to the need to redefine and re-categorise public managers in terms of their roles, responsibilities and authority. Increasingly, the distinctions in the roles of top, middle and lower levels of management are becoming increasingly blurred (Causer and Exworthy, 1999). Moreover, the custodial regulation previously characteristic of public sector professionals' work is being gradually subsumed in bureaucratic regulation in line with managerialism (Kitchener et al, 2000; Clarke et al, 2000). However, whereas corporatised organisations are believed to be largely autonomous, a great deal of this autonomy seems to be located in and restricted to top management. As Exworthy and Halford (1999) and Doolin (2001), have earlier observed, while an increasing number of public professionals are being offered managerial positions as a means of adding a touch of management to their professional practice the exercise of discretion in their capacity as both managers and professionals is being reduced, systematically subsumed in managers' authority. The findings from my research do support these assertions to some extent.

Besides, the subject of professionals has itself become more complicated and problematised (Causer and Exworthy, 1999) not least because of recent developments in the public sector where professionals were integrated into managerial positions, rendering any dichotomous distinction between managers and professionals practicably

unsustainable. The classification of public managers should be based on their role and function rather than their distinct categories (as managers or professionals) if conflicts are to be minimised. This would reduce the managerial-professional distinction and the associated tension especially in circumstances where roles seem to stretch across managerial and professional domains. Examples are where professionals, by their managerial positions are authorised to make decisions, which might otherwise have been made by professionals, and vice versa. Among other things, it is the deliberate juxtaposition on professional values, of a managerialist framework, which defines professional effectiveness largely by reference to cost-efficiency that is emerging as a continual source of conflicts between top managers and PMMs. The various ways that managers are being categorized, changes occurring especially in managing professionals and associated conflicts, co-options and collaborations between managers and professionals are treated in chapter three.

7.4. Summary and Implications of Research Findings

All the changes described above are vital to understanding this research thesis; the first two changes provide the conceptual framework while the last two provide the policy and institutional framework for the cases studied. The research framework and the research focus sections, in chapter four, provide further details. It is against this background that this thesis attempts to investigate and conceptualise the challenges of PMMs in the outsourcing of support services in corporatised health institutions in Ghana and the coping strategies they employ in responding to these. All these are investigated in the broader context of NPM in two corporatised teaching hospitals and two cases reflecting different skills level. The comparative element of this thesis research lies in the different skill level and is meant to investigate whether and to what extent differences in skills level of

functions outsourced has influence on managing outsourcing contracts and on relationships between senior managers and PMMs. I discuss the research questions in turn below.

Before launching into the findings, it would be useful to have a recap of the main research questions that this study has attempted to address. The first question seeks to understand the issues managers encounter, and is subdivided into three to cover the rationale for outsourcing; the extent of PMMs' involvement in decision making, and the issues introduced by the problematic nature of NPM, compounded by the particular socio-cultural and political features of the research context. The second question attempts to explore the coping devices or resistance strategies employed by managers in response to the encountered issues. The third question draws implications of the responses to first and second major research questions for autonomy and role of PMMs, and NPM reforms in developing countries. These research questions are discussed in turn; however, since questions about decision making and autonomy are covered under issues encountered, these are not treated as separate items. Therefore, in question one, only the subsection on rationale for outsourcing is discussed.

7.4.1 Rationale for outsourcing

Two broad rationales for outsourcing have been identified: to have 'less difficulty or trouble or headache' and to address capacity shortage for the low-value/simple skill and high-value/complex skill function respectively. The former includes addressing workers' attitudinal problems including laziness, absence and lateness to work, and disrespect for the employment contract; escape the extra cost and inconvenience associated with keeping a

large number of permanent employees; and reduce supervision time so as to concentrate on core responsibilities. The latter was underpinned by the need to avoid unnecessary spending due to purchasing wrong medical equipment; wrongly installing equipment; and lack of technicians to regularly maintain equipment. Evidence suggests that the differences in rationale and functional skill level also give rise to different approaches adopted by senior management to managing outsourcing contracts, which also produce differences in managerial-professional relationships. The complex skills functional area contract whose management is less straightforward and requires external consultants is characterised with a higher degree of conflicts between senior managers and PMMs than is the lower-value/simple skills function contract, more straightforward and managed without consultants.

7.4.2 Major issues and challenges

PMMs generally feel controlled by senior managers in various ways: two major issues were clearly articulated. The first relates to reduction in their autonomy and discretion to make decision over a range of issues. PMMs were concerned that in the complex skill function case external consultants were making decisions over issues in the former's domain. The second relates to a range of conflicts unleashed by the juxtaposition of managerialism over professional values. At least five issues are identified:

- (i) Conflicting emphasis on cost and quality. Senior managers' primary concern is cost-efficiency while PMMs primary emphasis is on cost-effectiveness.

- (ii) Consistent with their cost-efficiency centeredness, senior managers are concerned about factors driving up costs, including complex contracting procedures, procurement irregularities, and the challenges of settling and compensating redundant employees.
- (iii) There have been instances of conflictual, bizarre emphasis on results and outputs as opposed to procedures and outcomes. On the one hand PMMs expressed concern over senior managers' disproportionate emphasis on results and output, making them to sacrifice procedural tenacity, equity and ethical considerations for cost-efficiency. On the other, PMMs expressed frustration in the increase in bureaucratic procedures, which they argue is both inconsistent with professional work, and leads to delays, inefficiency and corruption as people bribe their way through to by-pass the elaborate procedures.
- (iv) There are paradoxes and puzzles surrounding the issue of increased bureaucratic centralisation and its relationship with corruption, as PMMs seem to be saying they are both comfortable and uncomfortable with focusing immensely on procedures. These puzzles might be resolved by redefining or differentiating professionals' work into components that involve administrative/managerial procedures and those involving professional procedures. In the former, for instance endorsing documents for release of money and procuring materials needed in their everyday practice, professionals resent cumbersome procedures, while senior managers feel the absence of detailed procedures leads to corrupt practices for which they (senior managers) are answerable. In the latter case involving professionals' actual

technical practice, for instance, installing and maintaining medical equipment, they expect close attention to details and are not merely motivated by cost efficiency consideration to hasten the process although senior managers implied this is necessary to save cost. Professionals' frustration thus seems to lie in emphasis being placed on the wrong procedures. In other words, these are reflected in the relative weight senior managers and PMMs accord cost efficiency and cost effectiveness, with senior managers stressing economic efficiency while PMMs lay stronger emphasis on cost effectiveness

- (v) With few exceptions senior managers and PMMs hold opposing perspectives on corruption. Senior managers see increased centralisation as a tool for fighting corruption while the latter sees it as a contributor to corruption as explained above. PMMs feel what causes corruption is the way senior managers restrict them access to the organisation's resources and information because it suggests they (senior managers) have something to hide.

7.4.3 *Professional Middle managers' coping devices*

While PMMs responded using various strategies, three of these are key findings:

- (i) With few exceptions PMMs responded to what they view as senior managers' attempt to control them, employing strategies likely to be interpreted as complying with or consenting to their own control or marginalisation. They were indirect, not straightforward, withdrawn in

their approach, sometimes simply watching senior management act. Such resistance resources with little verbal engagement are devoid of direct confrontation and openly expressed conflicts.

(ii) Additionally resistance occurred at the micro level, employing non-deviant strategies that least required breaking organisational rules or engaging in industrial strikes; instead pursued through employing organisational control resources such as rules and regulations. Finding faults and flaws in organisational rules, professionals decided to go strictly by the rules. This resistance strategy I have conceptualised as *individualised modes of work-to-rule*.

(iii) The few confrontational and verbal forms of resistance that occurred were restricted principally to the complex skills functional area. Even in these complex skills function cases, such forms of resistance tended to be restricted to the biomedical managers [professionals handling perhaps the most complex skill functional area] who expressed the greatest sense of frustration. Managing the complex skills function cases thus tends to be characterised with a greater degree of overt managerial-professional conflicts. This supports the assumption upon which the cases were selected, that high-value skills areas are more likely than low-value skills areas to constitute a domain of considerable conflicts

7.5. Implication of my research for NPM reforms in LDCs

In this final section I summarise what the responses to the various questions posed in this research contribute to current literature with respect to NPM in LDCs, drawing their implications for policy and further research.

7.5.1 *What may inform the decision by public organisations to outsource?*

This thesis has established that depending on the level of skill required for handling and supervising functional area outsourced, decision to outsource would be underlain by two broad objectives: capacity-related issues; and attitude-related issues with respect to public employment. A range of attitudinal problems among public sector workers have been identified. Although the trend is changing considerably, such attitudes as laziness, lateness to work, absenteeism, and conscious attempt to use official working time for private business concerns are not uncommon among Ghana's public sector workplaces, thus corroborating a point made earlier by Danso (2007), and reflected in some of the interviews. These attitudes are however believed to exist only to a minimal degree among public sector employees, and could be treated as public sector-specific problems rather than generalised national problem. It is argued this challenge has a historical connotation, which could be traced to colonial legacy and the concomitant suppressive State, employed to serve foreign needs at the expense of local people. Admittedly, colonial states were set up to control and exploit local economies under which the development of local indigenous private sector was inhibited (Potter, 2000). Thus historically, the state was seen as an agent of suppression and exploitation towards foreign ends, to which patriotic indigenous citizens least dared to be loyal and committed. Sabotaging the state through

playing the system, withholding labour power, pilfering at work, destroying state property, and the like, one could argue, would be central to the definition of a patriotic citizen in that context.

But the question that this argumentation raises is why these attitudes have remained even decades after political independence. Whereas answering this question falls beyond the scope of this thesis and could constitute a topic for further research, part of the answer is found in Potter (2000) who observed that African political class after independence eagerly seized upon the legacy of Statism by encouraging state-ownership in order to alter citizens' thinking about the state and guarantee their loyalty. However, by continuing to manage in an authoritative manner for their selfish benefit this class has heightened, rather than minimized, the ills of colonial Statism. Thus to most citizens, attaining political independence might mean little more than the changing of hands from a foreign oppressive group to a local cadre of dictators and exploiters (Egbue, 2006). It appears political leadership is central to this challenge, and so resolving it would require change in attitudes of political leaders (Mhone, 2003). This whole problem is grounded in neopatrimonialism, which began to evolve in many African countries in the years following political independence, and has persisted and remained until now in most cases (Soest, 2006). Indeed, neopatrimonialism, in which informal, particularistic politics of the rulers pervade formal state institutions (Soest, 2006) has become the 'distinctive institutional hallmark of African regimes' (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997). Indeed, neopatrimonialism does affect citizens' patriotism, loyalty and commitment to the State, and could result in legitimating unacceptable practices such as corruption, especially when acts of corruption would lead to a redistribution of wealth away from the affluent dominant political class to the poor, needy working class (Egbue, 2006)

It also appears public sector corruption is inextricably linked with this thinking. For instance, there is an extant literature (Anechiarico and Kuo, 1995; Egbue, 2006) suggesting that public sector corruption might be justified so long as it leads to a redistribution of state resources from the affluent and exploitative political elite to the mass middle and working class population. Further research should investigate the extent to which current work attitudes including public sector corruption are linked to colonial legacy, perpetuated by current local politicians. It is unclear whether the shortage of capacity, which warranted outsourcing in the complex skill function case, has something to do with the colonial hegemony but further research should help establish this too.

But the picture should not be understood to be all gloom, as in principle, there seems to be no disagreement between senior and PPMs over whether or not outsource. Moreover, even with the disenchantment of PMMs with senior managers' approach to outsourcing contract administration, PMMs could not deny the fact that the outsourcing of both the Installation/Maintenance and Cleaning functions has surely produced some good results. For instance, the outsourcing of the Installation/Maintenance function has produced what I have described as a 'one stop-shop solution', where a function previously handled by three separate departments (Biomedical Engineering, Estate and Maintenance) now comes to be exclusively managed by one provider. Some savings in cost terms has also been realised although the net figure is difficult to compute, external consultants hire fees eroding a great deal of this savings. There is a potential that if properly and prudently handled, with minimal consultant hire for instance, the outsourcing of this function could result in considerable cost savings while beefing up capacity to address the shortage of experts challenge. Similarly, the outsourcing of the Cleaning function has helped both hospitals to deal with unacceptable working habits of permanent employees; there is also

evidence to suggest the hospitals are now cleaner. Additionally, the substantial reduction in the number of permanent employees now replaced by contractors and casual workers has relieved the PMMs of continual supervision, offering them the opportunity to focus on their core duties. Additionally, the outsourcing of the cleaning function was meant to effect a culture change in public institutions in terms of employees' attitude to public employment. There are of course, potentially serious social and economic costs resulting from such a flexible employment strategy. For instance, labour revolts and the economic survival of redundant staff are issues that can neither be avoided nor ignored. However, the fact that it was suggested outsourcing has led to cleaner hospitals suggests that outsourcing public services might provide a partial solution to the public sector challenge in Ghana, and hopefully, other countries with similar contexts.

Achieving this successfully would however call for conscious efforts to address the issues identified in this thesis. For instance, a united resolve to fight corruption, backed by strong political will, action and leadership, legitimated by legislation could make the benefits of outsourcing available to the nation. With respect to the policy arena in Ghana, the past political administration and the current NPP government have already established a strong framework for outsourcing some public services. It is expected that if subsequent governments could effectively build on what has already been achieved in this area, Ghana's public sector could be on track to dealing with much of the engrained inefficiency by which it has, for years been characterised and paralyzed.

The challenges PMMs encountered can be linked to two broad themes in the NPM debate. First, the seldom-tested belief that private sector solutions will address public sector ills (Dixon, Kouzmin, and Korac-Kakabadse, 1998) and the concomitant juxtaposition of market-oriented managerialist frameworks on public sector values. At the organisational level, this means subordinating all other considerations including professional values to managerial objectives. Most issues which PMMs have, for instance, disagreements over cost and quality and results and procedures, can be traced to this fundamental incompatibility between managerialism and professional values.

Second, the challenge of corruption in the public sectors of many LDCs, described as 'soft states in which corruption runs riot' (Olowu, 2002), and a domain where public employees take plunder (Egbue, 2006) still lingers. The increased bureaucratic centralisation, which senior management adopted was justified as an attempt to prevent corruption. However, the causality between centralisation and corruption does appear rather non-linear and bizarre, as interview responses from this thesis suggest. For instance, PMMs argue increased centralisation has been a cause of corruption since it compels people, desiring to avoid delays to by-pass the procedures through bribing. Future researchers could be investigating whether and circumstances under which centralisation heightens or attenuates corruption.

Moreover, by establishing that management is more likely to exert control over functional areas considered complex than those that are not, this thesis provides evidence to support Crozier's (1964) expert power theory. Where they feel incapable of achieving this,

managers tend to rely on external consultants to, as it were, 'decode the embedded knowledge' to render that domain simpler to control. It explains why much more conflict surrounds the complex skills function outsourcing than the simple skills function outsourcing. It supports poststructuralists' analysis that complexity constitutes power; and to render something transparent is a necessary step to controlling it (Foucault, 1977). However, the use of external consultants could seriously jeopardise the ability of public organisations to develop in-house capacity, and actually undermine one of the central reasons for outsourcing: to both cope with lack of capacity and beef up in-house capacity (as outsourcing providers also provide some form of training for the client organisations as part of the contract), and could set in motion 'a vicious cycle of in-house capacity shortage, outsourcing and consultants hire'.

7.5.3 *Professionals' coping strategies*

The resistance strategies PMMs employed suggest there remains a range of unresolved issues between managers and professionals. As interviews suggest, compromise remains the commonest means by which managers and professionals collaborate to attain organisational ends. For professionals, the need to protect their profession becomes paramount to any decision, and they seem to find comfort in concentrating on their profession in times of conflicts. The various means by which they seek to exercise control including consent and compliance, suggest there being other moderating factors that prevent them from being straightforward. I suggest it is partly the culturally embedded issues relating to the concept of power-distance and its associated traditional value system identified in chapter six which are moderating the mode of professionals' response (see Fig 6.4 chapter six). Further research in this area would investigate which of the locally-

embedded cultural reframing identified as potentially valuable in my thesis would enhance modern public management; which would not; and how the former can be achieved.

7.5.4 *Implications*

Taking a cue from these cases, three main causes can be assigned to NPM reform failures in LDCs. Firstly, the internal inconsistency of the NPM model stemming from the opposite concepts (Hood, 1991; Aucoin, 1990) on which it has been grounded. This challenge remains a global one, and not limited to LDCs. Second, in LDCs, such reform prescriptions could be described as foreign, and nothing more than a process of retrofitting foreign prototypes rather than customising reforms to address local needs. This is often due to the nature of the public sectors of these countries, where compared to Western countries bureaucracy and public service ethos are not properly developed (Hood, 1995). However, it appears because such reforms are often donor-driven, the enticement of accompanying financial resources can be hardly resisted by politicians championing reforms. For instance, various authors (Paragon, 1995; ISSER, 1995; Economic Commission for Africa, 2003) have argued that Western-type public sector reforms in African contexts are not only unhelpful but tend to be detrimental in the long run due to systemic and structural difficulties. In spite of this, African countries continue to pursue various forms of public sector reforms, which are not necessarily appropriate to their particular circumstances. Third, in the case of Ghana, there are contextual [socio-cultural and economic factors] that may be inconsistent with Western forms of democratic governance and participatory decision-making whereupon a strong public service, which is a prerequisite to NPM reforms is established. Thus the failure of NPM in LDCs is partially

due to the existence within those cultures of a complex set of political, economic, religious and socio-cultural factors arguably incompatible with reforms.

7. 6. Conclusions, Recommendations and Future Research

I conclude by briefly reviewing broad institutional shifts in management, and development thinking globally with respect to traditional cultures, and by pointing further research to designing public management systems that are uniquely local. Since it is culture that defines what is allowed or constrained, what is cherished or frowned at, and what is supported or resisted, the management system of any people, if it should be effective, needs to be intelligently grounded in and supported by their cultural values as became clear from the Ghanaian experience in this piece of research. It is the misunderstanding of this fundamental principle that both motivated and underpinned modernisation theories in the 1960s, which among many things, attempted to blame the underdevelopment of the LDCs on their so-called backward cultures. For more than a decade, global development thinking and agenda was under-girded by this theory (Yousfi, 2007). The discovery of the fallacy in these theories triggered the postulation of dependency theories, which, coining the concepts of the *centre* and *periphery*, showed how the centre (Western countries) was developed by depending on resources from the periphery (LDCs) and how the periphery was underdeveloped by the centre (Rodney, 1973).

Influential and compelling as these latter theories were, they did little more than merely titillate the emotional and intellectual palates of leaders of LDCs because they provided little substance for grounding the management systems of LDCs in their cultures. Unsurprisingly, the neo-liberal market theories that followed in the 1980s out of which

NPM was budded, were quickly transposed to LDCs with no critical assessment as if 'NPM is the way to do public management' for every country (Manning, 2001). The imputation of NPM with omnipotence features, clearly conveyed by such phrases as 'NPM for all seasons'; (Hood, 1991); and with ubiquitous orientation, reflected in 'NPM is everywhere supplanting' (Hood, 1995), and 'NPM as a global corporate agenda' (Whitfield, 2001) all carry overtones of the managerial hegemony of the West and clearly articulate the strong ideological discourses that underpinned the promotion of NPM reforms to LDCs. Apparently, the NPM era was portrayed as the climax of public management, described by some as the time when *the truth* about public management has been discovered (Manning (2001: 300).

From modernisation theories down to current neo-liberal theories underpinning NPM, the 'the local and the cultural' seem to be intelligibly subsumed in the 'global and the modern'. Nonetheless, as suggested in this thesis, the local and the cultural have often proved to be more potent in mediating the 'global and the modern'. The findings from this research together with the many cases of NPM reform failures in LDCs point to potency of the 'local and the cultural' in shaping the 'global and the modern'. Additionally, their potency to reduce the capacity of the 'global and the modern' to deliver desired results is indeed becoming increasingly evident. Quite recently, some analysts, donors and major stakeholders in African public management reform agenda such as the World Bank and IMF have begun to call for designing public management systems that reflect local cultures (Yousfi, 2007). The implication of all this, as Jones (1989) puts it is the necessity for 'reconceptualising African management in which African managers develop their own indigenous ideas and techniques for their own socio-cultural, political and economic environments'. There is a need for policy makers, donors and research focus to be directed

at efforts to ground the public management systems of LDCs, for that matter, African countries, in their local culture: a management system that would support, be supported by, and enable local culture.

The need for African academics, politicians and influential policy makers to begin to interrogate foreign management practices introduced to African public management system is now becoming ever more obvious. Moving in this direction would surely encourage the pursuit of selective implementation of reforms rather than the current uncritical wholesale implementation, which has seen little success. Researchers can begin to address the question, 'how can we model management systems to support and be supported by local cultures?' Admittedly, while such a suggestion for achieving congruence between local cultures and management systems sounds plausible and appealing, the road to achieving this appears lined with conceptual ambiguities and practical difficulties. Indeed, there are aspects of African cultural and traditional practices understood by some African academics as impeding development. Examples include *extensive assistance and patronage; gifts and tips* and *some traditional forms of governance* (Egbue, 2006), in addition to those already identified from the Ghanaian context, believed to possess elements that could promote corruption. The way to overcome this could in itself, constitute the content of future research whose agenda could be devoted to resolving ambiguities about what such system would look like, its form, and nature, by answering at least three possible questions:

- (i) Would such a management system be an adaptation of Western management to local contexts and what would be the best approach to achieving this? Jackson's (2004) work on 'Management and Change in Africa: a Cross-Cultural Perspective can serve as a starting point.

- (ii) Would it involve the harnessing, consolidating and strengthening of traditional institutions of governance, (for instance chieftaincy in Ghana's case) upon which modern public management would be based, and what would be some of the possible issues to address to make this effective? The Economic Commission for Africa (2004) has a substantially rich data and ongoing research on this, which can be helpful to this process.
- (iii) Would it mean discarding Western management paradigms entirely, replacing them with new models developed by local academics or a combination of the three (Western, indigenous institutions and new models)? This would no doubt call for African academics to commit to questioning existing pro-Western management systems, and designing, based on broad African value systems, management systems grounded almost entirely in African value systems. In politics and political economy, Nkrumah's (1969) African Socialism project, clearly articulated partly in his influential '*Consciencism*', provides a useful groundbreaking work for designing systems grounded in African ideologies while in political and social organisation and education, Julius Nyerere's 'Ujama' project remains a useful framework. Although coming from different academic fields, much can be learnt from these rather unfortunately abandoned isolated projects, which can provide a focus and direction for the future of the development of African countries.

7.7 Reflections

NPM is a description for collections of remedies for perceived deficiencies of well developed and socially embedded public sectors in developed countries, and the application

of NPM approaches in LDCs raises very different concerns, which I have discussed in detail in chapter two and throughout this project, using the lessons from Ghana as an LDC. They generate puzzles, ambiguities and tensions, some of which I have identified, and proposed alternatives to resolving. In Fig 6.4 (section 6.10), for instance, I illustrated how different factors interact at different levels to shape NPM reforms in the context of LDCs. As Ghana was the earliest independent state in sub-Saharan Africa, the historical trajectory I have set out in this chapter is meant to bring to a sharper relief the range of challenges likely to be encountered under NPM reforms in other countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa that later became politically independent and chartered paths in public sector development and associated reforms similar to those of Ghana. While not oblivious of the possible effects that differences in the flavours of administration inherited from different colonial sources, and the models of developmental state that evolved from these could have on reform outcomes in these different countries, I am persuaded there are a range of challenges across Africa identical with those elucidated by this research. This makes it possible to apply some of the findings from this research to other contexts similar to the context of this research.

Finally, the suggestions I offered and the range of issues I raised in this research, particularly those that interrogate the appropriateness of NPM in LDCs, both reflect and build upon the current shifts occurring in both management and donor thinking about ways of doing management in Africa. Besides, this study has a pioneering dimension in that it attempts to explain management practice on the basis of local culture. This is against the backdrop of the prescriptive, top-down pro-Western advice on reforms, and the institutional critiques that often follow reform failures. The impact of NPM at the organization level needs to be examined in order to gauge its impact and relevance in LDCs and this is the level at which my thesis partly seeks to contribute.

REFERENCES

- Aarts, A.A.G., Navest, L.M. and Schoenmakers, A.M.D.C. (1995), Trends in Uitbesteding: onderzoek naar de praktijk van uitbesteding in Netherlands, Moret, Ernst& Young, Rotterdam
- Abbott, A. (1988) *The System of Professions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Academy of Management Journal*, 19, 196-213.
- Addae, E and Garere, L (2001) Capacity Building and System Development for Sector-wide Approaches: the Experiences of Ghana Health Sector, A report of One of Three case Studies Commissioned by DFID Health Systems Resource centre, Accra.
- Addico, G. (2006) Priority Setting for Reproductive health at the District level in the Context of Health sector reforms in Ghana, Accra: UNFPA
- Addo, J.S. (1994) *A Feasibility Study for the Establishment of a National Health Insurance Scheme in Ghana*, Consultants Ltd, Tri-Star Actuarial, Management Consulting Group
- Ministry of Health, Accra, Ghana
- Adei, S (2006) Governance, State-Ownership and Divestiture: the Ghanaian Experience, *African Journal of Public Administration and Management*, 17(6): 11-28
- Adom, D (2005) 'Outsource Audit to improve Tax revenue', *Joy FM News* (www.myjoyonline.com) (date visited 05 Jan 2005)
- Advanced Institute of Management Research (2004) 'Outsourcing and Off-shoring of Services: Policies, Practices and their Impact on the UK Economy' Conference Paper (November 2004)
- Agyeman-Duah, B. (2004) Curbing Corruption and Economic Governance: the case of Ghana, Accra: Ghana Centre for Democratic Development

- Aivazian, A.V., Ge, Y. and Qiu, J (2005) Can corporatisation improve the performance of state-owned enterprises, even without privatisation? *Journal of Corporate Finance*, **11**: 791-808
- Akosa, A.B.; Nyongator, F.K., Phillips, J.F. and Jones, T.C (unpublished) *Health Sector Reforms Field Experiment and Systems Research for Evidence-Based Reform Change and Development in Ghana*, paper presented for Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio Conference Centre Seminar from Pilot to Policies (March 31 to April 5 2003).
- Aldrick, H.E. and Pfeffer, J. (1976) Environments of Organisations, *Annual Reviews* pp79-105
- Anechiarico, F. and Kuo L. (1995) The Justified Scoundrel: the Structural Genesis of Corruption, *Journal of Social Philosophy*, **26**(1):147-51
- Appana Subhash (2003): New Public Management and Public Enterprise Restructuring in Fiji, *Fijian Studies*, **1** (1), 52 – 73
- Appiah-Kubi, K. (1998) Final Input of Structural Adjustment in Ghana, Accra: ISSER
- Appiah-Kubi, K. (2001) State-Owned Enterprises and Privatisation in Ghana, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, **39**(2): 197-229
- Arrow, K.J. (1965) Uncertainty and Welfare Economics of Medical Care, *American Economic Review* 55(1/2): 154-8
- Aryetey, E. and Fosu, A. (2002) Explaining African Economic Growth performance: The Case of Ghana, Paper (Final Report) Prepared for the African Economic Research Consortium, Accra
- Asante, A.D., Zwi, A.B., Ho, M.T. (2006) Getting by on credit: how district health managers in Ghana cope with the untimely release of funds, *BMC Health Services Research*, **6**(105)
- Ashcraft, K. L., & Mumby, D. K. (2004) Reworking Gender: A Feminist Communicology of Organization, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

- Assimeng, M.J. (1996) An Anatomy of Modern Ghana, J.B. Danquah Memorial Lectures, 28th Series, March 1996, Accra: Ghana Academy of Sciences
- Atkinson, J. (1984) Manpower Strategies for Flexible Firms, *Personnel Management* **16**: 28-31
- Atwater, L.E and Wright, W.J (1996): Power and Transformational and Transactional Leadership in Public and Private Organisations, *IJPA (International Journal of Public Administration)*, **19**: 963 – 89)
- Aucoin, 1990: Administrative reform in public management: paradigms/principles, paradoxes and pendulums, *Governance*, **3**: 115-37
- Awortwi, N. (2002) Managing Multiple Modalities of Delivering Basic Services in Ghanaian Cities, *Africa Development* **27**(3/4): 76-105
- Bailyn, L. (1985). Autonomy in the industrial R&D Lab. *Human Resource Management*,
- Bale, M. and Dale, T. (1998) Public Sector Reform and its Relevance to Developing Countries, *The World Bank Research Observer*, 13(1) February, pp. 103-121
- Barker, K. (1993) Changing Assumptions and Contingent Solutions: the costs and benefits of women working full and part-time, *Sex Roles*, **28**:47-71
- Barker, V and More, M (1994): Retrenchment: Cause of Turnaround or Consequence of Decline? *Strategic Management*, **15**: 395 – 405
- Barker, V and Patterson, P (1996): Top Management Team Tenure and Top Manager Causal Attributions at Declining Firms Attempting Turnaround; *Group and Organisation Management*, **21**: 304 -336
- Barker, V., More, M., Mueller, G., and Freeman, S (1998): Does it Add Up? An Empirical Study of the Value of Downsizing for Firm Turnaround in Ketchen (ed) *Turnaround Research: Past Accomplishments and Future Challenges*
- Barker, V.L and More, M.A (1998): The Mechanistic Structure Shift and Strategic Orientation in Declining Firms Attempting Turnaround; *Human Relations*, **51**.10

- Barney, J. (1991) Firm Resources and Sustained Competitive Advantage, *Journal of Management*, 17(1): 99-120
- BBC News Ghana boycott over graft sentence (7 Feb 2007)
- Beatty, R and Zajac, E (1987): CEO Change and Firm Performance in Large Organisations: Succession Effects and Manager Shifts; *Strategic Management Journal*, 8: 305 – 317
- Beetham, D. (1991) *Legitimation of Power*, London: Macmillan
- Berger, P. and Luckman, T (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality*, Penguin Books, London
- Bissessar, A. M (1998) Re-engineering the Public Services of Commonwealth Caribbean, *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 64(2): 305-26
- Boafo-Arthur, K. (1999) Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) in Ghana: Interrogating PNDC's Implementation, *West Africa Review*, 1(1)
- Bockel, V.J and Noordegraaf, M (2006): Identifying Identities: Performance-driven, but Professional Public Managers
- Boje, D; Cruces, L. and Rosile, H.A. (2003) Theatrics of socio-economic approach of management (SEAM), *Journal of Organisational Change Management*, 16(1): 21-32
- Bornstein, M. (1999) Framework Issues in the Privatisation Strategies of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, *Post Communists Economies* 11 (1): 47-77
- Boston, J. (1991) 'The Theoretical Underpinnings of Public Sector Restructuring in New Zealand', in *Reshaping the State: New Zealand's Bureaucratic revolution*, Auckland: Oxford University press
- Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner (1994) *International privatisation: Strategies and Practices*, Berlin and New York: Thomas Clarke
- Boyne, B.A (2003): What is Public Service Improvement? *Public Administration*, 18: 211 – 27

- Boyne, G and Walker, R (2004): Strategy Content and Public Organisations; *Journal of Public Administration, Research and Theory*, **14** (2): 231 – 52
- Boyne, G. A. and Meier, K.J (2005) Good Luck, Good Management and Organisational Turnaround in the Public Sector, Working Papers, Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University
- Bozeman, B (1987): All Organisations are Public: Bridging Public and Private Organisational Theories, San Diego; Jossey-Bass
- Braverman, H. (1974) Labour and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twenty-First Century, New York: Monthly Review Press
- Breaugh, J. A. (1985). The measurement of work autonomy *Human Relations*, **38**, 551-570
- Breaugh, J. A. (1989). The work autonomy scales: Additional validity evidence. *Human*
- Breaugh, James A (1999) Further Investigation of the Work Autonomy Scales: Two studies, *Journal of Business and Psychology*, **13**(3):
- Broadbent M. Weill, Peter and Clair, D. (1999) The Implications of Information Technology Infrastructure for Business Process Redesign *MIS Quarterly*, **23**(2): 159-82
- Broadbent, J., Gill, J. and Laughlin, R. (2002) Evaluating the Finance Initiative in the National Health Service in the UK, *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, **16**(3): 422-45
- Brown, J., Sackett, P.J., Wortmann, and J.C. (1995) Future Manufacturing Systems: towards the extended enterprise, *Computers in Industry*, **25**: 235-54
- Brown, K. (2004) Human Resource Management in the Public Sector, *Public Management Review*, **6**(3): 303-9
- Burawoy, M. (1979) The Politics of Production, London: Verso
- Burke, K. (1937), *Attitudes Toward History*, Hermes Publications, Las Altos, CA

Burke, K. (1945), *A Grammar of Motives*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA

Burke, K. (1972), *Dramatism and Development*, Clark University Press with Barre Publishers,
Barre, MA

Bratton, M. and van de Walle, N. (1997) *Democratic Experiments in Africa: regime
Transitions in Comparative Perspectives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Burrell, G. (1996) Hard Time for the Salariat, in Scarborough, H (ed.) *The Management of
Enterprise*, London: Macmillan

Butterfield, R., Edwards, C. and Woodall, J. (2004) The NPM and the UK Police Service:
the role of the police sergeant in the implementation of performance management,
Public Management Review, 6(3): 395-415

Canagarajah, S. and Coulombe, H (1999) *Employment, Labour Market and Poverty in
Ghana: 'A Study of Changes during Economic Decline and Recovery'*, The World
Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, No 1845

Cappelli, P. and Neumark, D. (2004) External Churning and Internal Flexibility: Evidence
on the Functional Flexibility and Core-Periphery Hypotheses, *Industrial Relations*,
43(1): 148-82

Carbone, G.M. (2003) *Time for Parties in Mozambique and Ghana? The introduction of
electoral parties and the development of party systems, 192-2002*, Seminar paper
Development Research centre, London School of Economics

Carlone, D. and Larson, G.S. (2006) Locating the Possibilities for Control in a Self-help
Program, *Western Journal of Communication*, 70(4): 270-91

Carnaghan, R., Bracewell-Milnes, B. (1993), *Testing the Market: Competitive Tendering for
Government Services in Britain and Abroad*, Institute of Economic Affairs, London,

- Caron, D.J and Gianque, D (2006): Civil Servants, Identity at the Cross-roads: new challenges for public administration, *International Journal of Public Sector Management* **19**: 6: 543 – 555
- Cassels A (1995) Health sector reform: key issues in less developed countries. *Journal of International Development*, **7**(3): 329-347
- Castles, F. G. and Merrill, V. (1989) Towards a General Model of Public Policy Outcomes, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, pp.177-212
- Caulfield, J.L (2006): the Politics of Bureaucratic Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: *Public Administration Development* **26**: 210 – 26
- Causer, G., Exworthy, M. (1999), "Professionals as managers across the public sector", in Exworthy, M., Halford, S. (Eds), *Professionals and the New Managerialism in the Public Sector*, Open University Press, Buckingham,
- Cheon, M. J., Grover, V and Teng, J. C. T. (1995) Theoretical perspectives on the outsourcing of information systems, *Journal of Information Technology*, **10**: 209-219
- Cheung, B. L. A. (2002) Modernizing public Healthcare Governance in Hong Kong: A case study of professional power in the new public management *Public Management Review* **4**(3): 343-65
- Christensen, T and Laegreid, P (1999): New Public Management: Are Politicians Losing Control? Paper presented at ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Mannheim, 26-31, March 1999 Workshop: Politicians, Bureaucrats and Institutional Reforms
- Christensen, T. and Lægreid, P (2002) New Public Management: Puzzles of Democracy and the Influence of Citizens *Journal of Political Philosophy*, **10**: 267 - 295
- Christensen, T. and Laegreid, P. (2002) Symposium on Accountability, Publicity and Transparency New Public management: Puzzles of Democracy and the Influence of Citizens, *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, **10**(3): 267-95

- Clarke, J. and Newman, J. (1995) *The Managerial State*, London: Sage
- Clarke, J., Cochrane, A. and McLaughlin, E (eds.) (1994a) *Managing Social Policy*, London: Sage
- Clarke, J., Gewirtz, S. and McLaughlin, E. (2000) *New Managerialism, New Welfare*, London: Sage
- Clarke, T and Mangham, I. (2004) From dramaturgy to theatre as a technology: the case for corporate theatre *Journal of Management Studies* **41**(1)37-59
- Coase, R (1937) The Nature of the Firm, *Economica* **4**: 386-405
- Cochrane, A. (1993) *Whatever happened to Local Government?* Buckingham: Open University
- Cohen, J.M (1995) Capacity Building in the Public Sector: A Focused Framework for Analysis and Action, *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, **61**(3): 407-22
- Colclough, C. (1997a) *Public Sector Pay and Adjustment: lessons from Five Countries*, London: Routledge
- Collinson, D. (2003) Identities and insecurities: Selves at Work, *Organisation* **10**(3): 527-47.
- Collins, C and Green, A (1999): Public Sector Hospitals and Organisational Change: an Agenda for Policy Analysis; *International Journal of Health Planning and Management*, **12**: 107 – 28
- Collins, D. (1996) Control and Isolation in the Management of Empowerment, *Empowerment in Organizations*, **4**(2): 29-39
- Collinson, D. (1994) Strategies of Resistance: Power, Knowledge and Subjectivity in the Workplace, in J.M Jemier, D. Knights, and W.R. Nord (Eds.), *Resistance and Power in Organisations*, pp25-68
- Comte, A. (1853) *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* (translated by Martineau), London: Trubner and Co

- Condrey, S. E., Purvis, K and Slava, S. S. (2001) Public Management Reform under stress: the Ukrainian civil service experience, *Public Management* 3(2): 271-80
- Cooke, F.L. (2006) Outsourcing of public services and implications for managerial knowledge and careers, *Journal of Management Development* 25(3):269-284
- CPA (2006) Parliament of Ghana, 37th Conference of the Commonwealth parliamentary Association (CPA) Africa Region, 28th July to 5th August 2006), Accra
- Crewson, P.E (1997) Public Service Motivation: Building Empirical Evidence of Incidence and Effects, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 9: 499-518
- Crompton, R. (1990) Professionals in the current context, *Work, Employment and Society*, May: 147-66
- Crozier, M. (1964) The bureaucratic phenomenon Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Cruess, R.L.; Cruess, S.R.; Johnston, S.E (2000) *The LANCET* 356: 156-9
- Daily Graphic, Accra, Ghana (Nii Lantey Okunka Bannerman) Kufour's Financial Loss to Ghana: Should He Be Held Responsible, (Thursday, 19 April, 2007)
- Dalrymple, Th (2004): *Leven aan de Onderkant* (life at the bottom, 2001) Spectrum, Utrecht.
- Danso, K.A. (2007) Leadership Concepts and the Role of Governments in Africa, USA: Xlibris Corporation
- De Leon, L and Green, M.T. (2001) Corruption and NPM in Johns, L.R., Gurthrie, J. and Steane, P. (eds.) *Learning From International Public Management Reform*, Elsevier Science
- Derber, C., (1982), *Professionals as Workers*, Boston: G.K. Hall and Company.
- Derrida, J., 1988. In: Graff, G., Editor, 1988. *Limited Inc.*, North-western University Press, Evanston

- Dibie, R. and Herron, S.Y. (2002) Nigerians' Public Administrators' Perception of the Importance of Managerial Skills, *International Journal of Public Administration*, **25**(8): 931-51
- Diouf, N. (2004) 'Outsourcing comes to Africa, bringing jobs and fake Parisian accents, Money Newsletteronline
- Dixon, J., Kouzmin, A., and Korac-Kakabadse, N. (1998) Managerialism - something old, something borrowed, little new: Economic prescription versus effective organizational change in public agencies, *International Journal of Public Sector Management* **11**(3): 164-187
- Dodoo, R (1997) Performance Standards and Measuring Performance in Ghana, *Public Administration and Development* **17**(1): 115-21
- Dogan, M. and Pelassy, D. (1990) How to Compare Nations: Strategies in Comparative Politics, 2nd Edition Chatham: Chatham House
- Doig, A. (1997) The Privatisation of Property Services Agency: Risk and Vulnerability in Contract-Related Fraud and Corruption, *Public Policy and Administration* **12**(3): 6-27
- Doolin, B. (2001) Doctors as Managers: NPM in a New Zealand Hospital, *Public Management Review*, **3**(2): 231-254
- Doran, L. (2007) Responsible Rebellion, *Nursing Standards*, **21**(40):26-27 (June 13)
- Douglas, M and Rothwell, R (1994) The handbook of Industrial Innovation, Edwards Edgar: Aldershot
- Downs, A. (1967) *Inside Bureaucracy*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company
- Du Gay, P. (2000) In Praise of Bureaucracy, London: Sage
- Easterbrook, F.H and Fischel, D.R (1991): The Economic Structure of Corporate Law, *Corporate Law*, **10** (1991)

- Fafchamps, M. (1996), "The enforcement of commercial contracts in Ghana", *World Development*, **24**(3): 427-48.
- Fairclough, N. (2001) *The Discourse of New Labour: Critical Discourse Analysis*, in
- Fawkner, J. (2000) *The Liberalisation of Transport in the UK: some lessons from across the Channel*, presentation given at the conference in Barcelona, 28th June entitled 'Present and Future of Services in General Economic Interest in the EU
- Fazakerley, J. (1996) Outsourcing maintenance, *Manufacturing Engineering*, October
- Fenton-O'Creevy, M. F. (2001) Employee Involvement and the Middle Manager: saboteur or scapegoat? *Human Resource Management Journal*, **11**(1): 24-40
- Ferlie, E, Lybb, L.E, Pollit, C (2005): *The Oxford Handbook of Public Management*, Oxford; University of Oxford
- Ferlie, E., Ashburner, L., Fitzgerald, L. and Pettigrew, A. (1996) *The New Public Management in Action*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Ferlie, L.E Lynn and C. Pollitt (eds.) (2005) *The Oxford handbook of Public Management*, Oxford: Oxford University
- Fill, C. and Visser, E. (2000) 'The outsourcing dilemma: a composite approach to the 'make or buy' decision', *Management Decision*, **38**(1): 43-50
- Fiorito, J. (2001) *Human Resource Management Practices and Worker Desires for Union*
- Fiorito, J. (2001) *Human Resource Management Practices and Worker Desires for Union*
- Flynn, B. (1999) Managerialism, professionalism and quasi markets, in M. Exworthy and S. Halford (eds.) *Professionals and managerialism in the Public Sector*, Buckingham: Open University Press, pp18-36
- Flyvbjerg, B (2006) Five misunderstandings about case Study Research, *Qualitative Enquiry* **12**(2): 219-45

- Forbes, T and Hallier, J (2006) Social identity and self enactment strategies: adapting to change in professional-manager relationships in the NHS, *Journal of Nursing Management* 14: 34-42)
- Ford, D., Cotton, B., Farmer, D., Gross, A. and Wilkinson, I. (1993) 'Make or Buy Decisions and their Implications', *Industrial Marketing Management*, 22: 207-14
- Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. (A. M. Sheridan-Smith translated) Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freidson, E. (1986) *Professional Powers*, Chicago: University of Chicago
- Freidson, E. (1994) *Professionalism Re-Born: Theory, Prophecy and Policy*, Oxford: Polity Press
- Ghana Budget (2005), Accra: Ministry of Finance
- Ghana, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 17(1): 172-75
- Ghanaian Chronicle* 'Ghana's, Zero Tolerance Policy Claims a Victim' (March 3, 2002)
- Ghanaian Chronicle*, *Ghana: Corruption Rife in Health Sector (Ghana Integrity Initiative Report)*, (02/02/06) (Obtained online on 22/06/2006) (www.ghanaian-chronicle.com)
- Ghanaian Cities; *Africa Development*, 27: 3-4; 76-105
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge: Polity press
- Glaser, B.B.G and Strauss, A.L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, New York: Aldine
- Globerman, J. (1990) Free Enterprise, Professional Ideology and Self-interest: An Analysis of Resistance by Canadian Physicians to Universal health Insurance, *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*, 31: 11-27

- Globerman, J. (1990) Free Enterprise, Professional Ideology and Self-interest: An Analysis of Resistance by Canadian Physicians to Universal health Insurance, *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*, **31**: 11-27
- Goffman, E. (1974), *Frame Analysis*, Harper Colophon Books, New York, NY
- Goffman, I. 1968. Stigma, Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity Penguin, London
- Government of Ghana (2001) ICT Policy Statement, Accra: Ministry of Private Sector Development
- Grand, J.L. and Bartlett, W. (1993) Quasi Markets and Social Policy, Houndmills: Macmillan
- Grant, R.M. (1996) Towards Knowledge-based Theory of the Firm, *Strategic Management Journal*, pp. 109-22
- Greenaway, J (1995) 'Having the Bun and the Halfpenny: Can Old Public Service Ethics Survive in the New Whitehall? *Public Administration* **73**(3): 357-74
- Greenwood, J., Pyper, R. and Wilson, D. (2002) New Public Administration in Britain, London: Routledge
- Greg, M. (1999) 'Going Outside the Company for Product Development', *Machine Design*, 71 (23)
- Grundy, W. K. (1963) Nkrumah's Theory of Underdevelopment: An Analysis of Recurrent Themes, *World Politics*, **15**(3): 438-54
- Gupta, U. G. (1992) 'Outsourcing the IS Function: Is it Necessary you're your Organisation?', *Information Systems Management*, pp44-50
- Gyimah-Boadi, E. (1995) State Enterprises Divestiture: Current Ghanaian Experiences, in D. Rothchild (ed) *Ghana: the political economy of recovery*,
- Hackman, J. R., & Oldham, G. R. (1975) Development of the job diagnostic survey. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 60, 159-170.

- Hambrick, D (1985): Turnaround Strategies in W. Guth (ed) Handbook of Business Strategy; Boston; Warren; Gorham and Lamont
- Hanchard, M. (2004) *Weapons of the Weak and Quotidian Politics*, A paper presented to the “Africa and the African Diaspora Workshop” University of Madison, Wisconsin, April 28, 2004
- Handy, C. (1989) The Age of Unreason, Boston, Harvard Business School Press
- Harris, P.R. and Moran, R.T (2000) Managing Cultural Differences: Leadership Strategies for a New World of Business, Houston TX: Gulf Publishing
- Harrison, S.-(1999) Clinical autonomy and health policy: past and futures, in M.
- Haruna, P.F. (2004) Training of Public Administrators in Africa: A Case Study of Civil Service Employees in Ghana, *International Journal of Public Administration*, 27(3): 171-95
- Harvey, A. (2001), "A dramaturgical analysis of charismatic leader discourse", *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, Vol. 14 No.3, pp.253–66.
- Henry, N. (1975) Paradigms of Public Administration, *Public Administration Review*, 35(4): 375-86
- Hensel, S. ed. (1998) Ukraine: Economic Outlook EIU Country Report, Economist Intelligent Unit Limited, 4th quarter
- Herriot, P, Pemberton, C. and Hawtin, E. (1996), The Career Attitudes and Intentions of Managers in the Financial Sector, *British Journal of Management* 7(2): 181-90
- Heydebrand, (1989) New Organisational Forms, *Work and Organisations* 16(3): 323-57
- Hickson, D.J et al (1986): Top Decisions: Strategic Decision Making in Organisations; San Francisco; Jossey-Bass
- Hiemstra, G, van Tilburg, J.J. (1993), *Inzicht in uitbesteding: ondernemingsstrategie en besturing*, Van Gorcum, Assen,

- Hitt, M.A. and Ireland, R.D (1986) Relationship among Corporate Level Distinctive Competencies, Diversification Strategy, Corporate Strategy and Performance, *Journal of Management Studies*, **23**: 401-16
- Hoffman, R (1989): Strategies for Corporate Turnaround: What do we know about them? *Journal of General Management*, **14**: 46 – 66
- Hofstede, G. (1981) Management Control of Government and Not-for-Profit Activities, *Accounting, Organisation and Society* 6(3): 193-211
- Hoggett, P. (1996) New Models of Control in the Public Sector, *Public Administration*, **74**: 9-32
- Hood C. and B.G Peters (eds.) *Paradoxes in Public Sector Reform*, Berlin: Ducker and Humbolt
- Hood, C. (1990b) Beyond the public bureaucracy state? Public Administration in the 1990s, inaugural lecture, London School of Economics, 16th January, 1990
- Hood, C. (1991) A Public Management for all Seasons, *Public Administration*, **69**: 3-19
- Hood, C. (1995) NPM in the 1980s: Variations on a theme, *Accounting, Organisation and Society*, **20**(2/3): 93-109
- Hood, C. and Jackson, M. (1991) *Administrative Argument*, Aldershot: Dartmouth
- Hope (2002): The New Public Management: A perspective from Africa in K. McLaughlin, Osborne and Ferlie (eds.) *New Public Management: Current Trends and Future Prospects*, London, Routledge
- Hope, R.K (2002) The New Public Management: A perspective from Africa in K. McLaughlin, S.P. Osborne, and E.Ferlie (eds.) *New Public Management: Current Trends and Future Prospects*, London: Routledge
- Hope, R.K. and Chikulo, B. C. (2001) Decentralisation: the NPM and the changing role of the public sector in Africa, *Public Management* **2**(1): 25-42

- Hoque, L and Mill, J (2001): Public Sector Reform: Implications for accounting, accountability and performance of state-owned entities – an Australian perspective, 304, *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 14:4 (304-326)
- Houston, A. and Young, G. (1996) Proactive Outsourcing-a Strategic partnership: Rank Xerox Technical Centre, *Facilities*, 14(7/8): 40-7
- Hume, L. J. (1981) *Bentham and Bureaucracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hutton, W.L. and Massey, A. (2006) Professional Ethics and Public Service: Can Professionals Serve Two Masters? *Public Money and Management* (January): 23-30
- Illich, I. (1977). *Limits to medicine and Medical nemesis: The expropriation of health*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books
- IMF/World Bank (1999) Ghana Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility Policy Framework Paper, 1999-2001, Accra
- Ingraham, P. (1996) The Reform Agenda for National Civil Service Systems: External Stress and Internal Strains, in H. Bekke, H. J. Perry, and T. Toonen (eds.)
- Institute of Social, Statistical and Economic Research (ISSER) (1995), *The State of Ghana's Economy in 1994*, Accra: University of Ghana
- Islam, N. (1993) Public Enterprise Reforms, Managerial Autonomy, Accountability and performance Contracts, *Public Administration and Development* 13(2): 129-52
- Jackson, T (1993) Ethics and the Art of Intuitive Management, *European Management Journal*, EAP 20th Anniversary, pp. 57-67
- Jackson, T. (2004) *Management and Change in Africa: A Cross-cultural Perspective*, London: Routledge.
- James, O. and Manning, N (1996) Public Management Reform: A Global Perspective, *Politics* 16(3): 143-9.

- Jamous, H. and Peloile, B. (1970) Professions or Self-Perpetuating Systems: Changes in the French University Hospital System, in J.A Jackson, (ed.) Professions and Professionalism, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Janice, T. and Caulfield, L. (2006) The politics of bureau reform in sub-Saharan Africa, *Public Administration and Development*, **26**:15-26
- Jefferis, K (1994) Public Enterprise and Privatisation in Botswana, in K. Jefferis (ed)
- Jennings, D. (2002) Strategic sourcing: benefits, problems and a contextual model, *Management Decision*, 40(1): 26-34
- Jensen, M.C and Meckling, W.H (1976): Theory of the Firm: Managing Behaviour, Agency Cost and Ownership Structure; *The Journal of Financial Economics*, **3**: 305 – 60
- Jeong, H.W. (1996) Ghana: lurching towards economic rationality, Heldref Publication
- Jessop, B (1991b) the welfare state in the transition from Fordism to post Fordism, in B. Jessop, H. Kastendiek, K. Nielcen and O. Pedersen (eds.) *The politics of flexibility*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar
- Jones, M.L. (1989) 'Management Development: An African Focus', *International Studies in Management and Organisation* **19**(1): 74-90
- Juma'h, A.H. and Wood, D. (2000) 'Outsourcing Implications on companies' profitability
- Kaghan, N. W (2005) Beyond the Panopticon: Technology, Organising, and Forms of Resistance, paper presented at 4th International Critical Management Studies Conference, 4-6th July, 2005, University of Cambridge, UK
- Kalheberg, A.L, Knolze, D., Marsden, P.V and Spaeth, J.L (1996): Organisations in America; Thousand Oaks; CA; Sage
- Kanter, R.M. (1984), *The Change Masters – Innovation for Productivity in the American Corporation*, Simon and Schuster, New York, NY

Karasek, Robert A. (1979). Job demands, job decision latitude, and mental strain:

Implications

Karl, K.A and Sutton, C.L. (1998) Job Values in Today's Workforce: A Comparison of Public and Private Sector Employees, *Public Personnel Management*, **27**: 515-27

Karland, N.B and Egan, T.D (1999): Public versus Private Perceptions of Formalisation, Outcomes and Justice, *Journal of Public Administration, Research and Theory*, **9**: 437 – 58

Karlberg, A.L.; Knoke, D., Marsden, P.V., and Spaeth, J.L (1996) Organisations in America, Thousand Oaks, Sage: CA

Katz, K.A., Gutek, B. A., Khan, R. L. and Barton, E. (1975) Bureaucratic Encounters: A pilot Study in the Evaluation of Government Services, Ann Arbor: Survey Research Centre, Institute for Social Research, Michigan,

Kaufman, H. (1979) The Administrative Behaviour of Federal Bureau Chiefs, Washington DC: Brookings Institution

Killick, T. (1983) The Role of Public Sector in the Industrialisation of African developing Countries, *Industry and Development*, UNIDO **7**: 57-88

Kilcullen, J. (1996) Max Weber: On Bureaucracy (Lecture Notes, Modern Political Theory, Macquarie University)

Kitchener, M., Kirkpatrick, I., and Whipp, R. (2000) Supervising Professional Work under New Public Management: Evidence from an Invisible Trade, *British Journal of Management*, **11**: 213-26

Knights D. and McCabe, D (1998b) What happens when the phones goes wild?: staff stress, and spaces for escape in a BPR telephone banking work regime *Journal of Management Studies*, **35**: 163-94

- Knights, D. and McCabe, D. (2000) 'Bewitched, bothered and bewildered: the meaning and experience of teamworking for employees in an automobile company'. *Human Relations*, **53**, 11, 481–517.
- Kolberg, K.L.C (2004) Public Management Reforms: Whether, how, and why the work. PhD Thesis, Department of Public Governance; Norwegian School of Management
- Kotter, J (1979) Managing External Dependence, *Academy of Management Review*, **4**(1): 87-92
- Kupler, A. and Kupler, J. (eds.) (1985) The Social Science Encyclopaedia, London: Routledge
- Kurland, N.B and Egan, T.D (1999) Public vs. Private Perception of Formalisation, Outcomes and Justice, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **9**: 437-58
- Kwakye, J.K., (2006) Anti-social Behaviour of Ghanaians: an attitude or systems problem? Ghanaweb (www.ghanaweb.com) (pasted on 26/06/2006)
- Laegreid, P and Roness, P.G (2001) Administrative Reform Programmes and Institutional Response in Norwegian Central Government, in J.J Hesse, C. Hood, and B.G. Peters (eds.) *Paradoxes in Public Sector Reforms*, Berlin: Druker and Humbolt
- Lane, J. E (2000): New Public Management; London; Routledge
- Lankford, W.M. and Parsa, F. (1999) 'Outsourcing: a primer' *Management Decision*, **37**(4): 310-16
- Lankshear, G., Cook, P., Mason, D., Coates, S. and Button, G (2001) Call centre employees' response to electronic monitoring: some research findings, *Work, Employment and Society*, **15**: 595-605
- Larbi, G.A.(1998) Contracting out in public health and water services in Ghana, *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, **11**(2/3): 154-63

- Larson, M. (1977) *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*, Berkeley: University of California Press
- Lawson, R. (1979) *Development Economics in Action: a study of economic policies in*
- Le Bianic, T. (2003) *Bringing the State back in the Study of Professions: Some Peculiarities of the French Model of Professionalism*, Paper Presented at the Sixth ESA Conference, Research Network Sociology of Professionals, Murcia, Spain, (September 2003)
- Le Grand, J. & Barlett, W. (eds.) (1993), *Quasi-Markets and Social Policy*, London, MacMillan
- Lee, J-N., Huynh, M.Q., Chiwai, K.R. and Pi, S-M, (2000) *Evolution of Outsourcing Research: What is the Next Issue?* (Proceedings of the 33rd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences-2000)
- (<http://computer.org/proceedings/hicss/0493/04937/04937070abs.htm>)
- Leechor, C. (1994) 'Ghana: Front Runner in Adjustment', in Faruque, R and Husain, I. (eds.) 'Adjustment in Africa: Lessons from Country Experiences', Washington DC: World Bank
- Lefort, C. (1986) *Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism* in Thompson, J.B (ed) *The Political Forms of Modern Society*, Massachusetts: MIT Press
- Levy, C and Waks, C. (2005) *Professionals and the Pursuit of Transparency: two cases of professional response*, a paper presented at 4th *International Critical Management Conference*, University of Cambridge, 4th-6th July 2005
- Light, P.C (2002): *The Troubled State of the Federal Public Service*; Washington, D.C; Brookings Institution. Available at www.brook.edu/views/papers/light/20020627.htm
- Lin, W.B. (2006) *The Exploration of Employee Involvement Model*, *Expert Systems with Application* **31**: 69-82
- Lindblom, C.E (1997): *Politics and Markets*; New York; Basic Books

Lipset, S.M and Schneider, W. (1987) *The Confidence Gap*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press

Lonsdale, C and Cox, A (2000) The historical development of outsourcing: the latest fad? *Industrial Management and data Systems*, 100(9): 444-50

Lynn, L. E. (1981) *Managing the Public Business*, New York: basic Books

Machin, S. and Wood, S. (2005) Human Resource Management as a Substitute for Trade Unions in British Workplaces, *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, 58(2): 201-18

Mallon, R. D. (1994) State-Owned Enterprise Reforms through Performance Contracts: The case of Bolivia, *World Development* 22(6): 925-34

Manning, N. (2001) The Legacy of the New Public Management in Developing Countries, *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 67: 297-312

Martin, S. (1983) *Managing without managers*, Beverly Hills: Sage

Massey, A and Pyper, R. (2005) *Public Management and Modernization in Britain*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

Massey, A. and Matechak, J.P. (2002) *Fighting Corruption in Public Procurement (Working Paper)* Washington: CIPE (29/07/2002)

Matechak, J.P. (2002) *Fighting Corruption in Public Procurement (Working Paper)* Washington: CIPE (29/07/2002)

Matthew B, M. and Huberman, M. A. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis*, London: Sage

Mazuri, A. (2002) *Nkrumahism and the Triple Heritage: out of the shadows* (lecture delivered as part of the Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg memorial lectures, University of Ghana, Accra)

McCourt, W. (1998b) 'Civil Service Reform Equals Retrenchment?' The Experience of Right-sizing and Retrenchment in Ghana, Uganda and the UK', in M. Minogue,

- C.Polidano and D. Humle (eds) *Beyond the New Public Management: Challenging Ideas and Practices in Governance*, Cheltenham: Edwards Elgar
- McCourt, W. (2001) The new public selection: anti-corruption and psychometric selection in the new public management in Nepal
- McDaniel, O. C. (1997) *The Effects of Government Policy on Higher Education* Gravenhage: VUGA Uitgeverij
- McIvor, R. (2000) 'Strategic Outsourcing: Lessons from a Systems Integrator', *Business Strategy Review*, 11(3): 41-50
- McIvor, R. (2005) *The Outsourcing Process: Strategies for Evaluation and Management*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- McLaughlin, K., Osborne, S.P and Ferlie, E (2002): *NPM: Current Issues and Future Prospects*; London; Routledge
- McPake, B. and Hongoro, C. (1995) Contracting-out of Clinical Services in Zimbabwe, *Social Science and Medicine*, 41(1): 13-24
- Meier, J.K. and Hill, G.C (2005) 'Bureaucracy in the Twenty-First Century' in E. Ferlie, L.E Lynn and C. Pollitt (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of Public Management*, Oxford: Oxford University, pp. 51-71
- Mensah, S., Aboagye, K, Addo, E., and Buatsi, S. (2003) *Corporate Governance and Corruption in Ghana: empirical findings and policy implications*, Accra: *African Common Market Forum*
- Mhone G. C. (2003) *The Challenges of Governance, Public Sector Reform and Public Administration in Africa: Some Research Issues* *DPMN Bulletin* Volume 10(3) May
- Miles, M. and Huberman, A.M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis*, London: Sage
- Miles, R.E. and Snow, C.C. (1986) *Network Organisations: New Concepts for New Forms*, *California Management Review*, 26: 10-28

- Miller, D (1991): State in the Saddle: CEO Tenure and Asset Retrenchment on Firm Performance; *Management Science*, **37**: 34 – 52
- Mills, A (1998): To Contract or not to Contract: Issues for low and medium income counties; *Health Policy and Planning* **13**(1): 32 40
- Minogue, M. (2000) Should Flawed Models of Public Management be Exported: Issues and Practices, IDPM, University of Manchester, pp. 1-31
- Ministry of Public Sector Reform (2006)
(http://ghana.gov.gh/ministry_of_public_sector_reform)
- Mulgan, R (2004): Public Sector reforms in New Zealand: Issues of Public Accountability, Discussion Papers, Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government, Australia:
- Mullin, J. L. (1996) Management and Organisational Behaviour, Pitman: London
- Mumby, D.K (2000) Communication, Organisation and the Public Sphere, A Feminist Perspective, in P.M.Buzzanell (Ed.), *Rethinking Organisational and Managerial Communication from a Feminist Perspective*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 3-23
- Munene, J.C., Schwartz, S.H. and Smith, B.P (2000) Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Cultural Influences and managers' Decision Making, *Public Administration, Development*, **20**: 339-51
- Mutahaba, G. and Kiragu, K (2002) Lessons of International and African Perspectives on Public Service Reform: Examples from Five African Countries, *Africa Development*, **27**(3/4): 48-75
- Myott, T.R. III Computer outsourcing: managing the transfer of information systems, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall
- NAFRICOM (2003) Ghana Outsourcing Conference, Philadelphia
- Newman, J. (2005) *Going Public? People, Policy and Politics*, Inaugural Lecture (Open University, Milton Keynes 18th May)

- Newman, J. and Clarke, J. (1994) Going about our business, in J. Clarke, A. Cochrane, and E. McLoughlin (eds.) *Managing Social Policy*, London: Sage
- Niskanen, W. A. (1971) *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*, Chicago: Aldine
- Niskanen, W.A. (1973) *Bureaucracy: Servant or Master?* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs,
- Nkrumah, K. (1962) *Towards Colonial Freedom*, Heinemann, London
- Nkrumah, K. (1969) *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization*, London: Heinemann
- Noon, M., and Blyton, P. (1997), *The Realities of Work*, London: Macmillan
- Noordhoek and Saner (2004) *Beyond New Public Management: Answering the Claims of both Politics and Society*, IX Congreso Internacional del CLAD sobre la Reform de la Administracion Publica, Madrid, Espana, 2-5
- Norman, R. (2004) Recovering from a Tidal Wave: new directions for performance in New Zealand's public sector, *Public Finance and Management* 4(3): 429-47
- Nutt, P.C (1999) Public-Private Differences and the Assessment of alternatives for Decision Making, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 9: 305-49
- Oduro, K. N. (2003) *Results-Oriented Public Expenditure Management: Case Study of Ghana*, London: Overseas Development Institute
- OECD (1998), *User Charging For Government Services: Best Practice Guidelines and Case Studies*, PUMA Occasional Papers No. 22, Paris.
- Ohemeng, F.L.K. (2005) Getting the state right: think tanks and the dissemination of New Public Management Ideas in Ghana, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43(3): 443-65
- Oluwu, D. (2002). Introduction New Public Management: An African Reform Paradigm? *Africa Development*, 27(3/4): (1-16).

- Osborne, D. and Gaebler, T (1992) *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is transforming the Public Sector*. New York: Penguin
- Osborne, S. and Ferlie, E. (2002) *The New Public Management: Current Trends and Future Prospects*, London: Routledge
- Oslen, J. P. (1988) 'Administrative reforms and theories of organisation', in C. Campbell and B.G. Peters (eds.) *Organising Governance: Governing Organisations*, Pittsburgh: University Press
- Ostrom, V. (1974) *The intellectual crisis in American Public Administration*, Alabam: University of Alabama Press.
- Palmer, C. (1995) 'White Collar, Black Hole', *The Observer Business*, 12 February, p.6
- Paragon, P. (1995) *Stabilisation Policies and Macroeconomic Growth: the Ghanaian Evidence* (unpublished MPhil dissertation, Department of Economics, University of Cape Coast, Ghana)
- Penrose, E.T. (1959) *The Theory of the Growth of the Firm*, New York: Wiley
- Perry and K.L Kraemer (eds.) *Public Management*, Mountain View, CA: Mayfield
- Peters, B.G (1984) *The Politics of Bureaucracy*, New York: Longmans
- Peters, T. and Waterman, R. (1982) *In Search of Excellence*, New York: Harper and Row
- Pfeffer, J and Salanick, G.R. (1978) *The External Control of Organisations*, New York: Harper and Row
- Piore, N.J., and Sabel, C.F. (1984) *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity*, New York: Basic Books.
- Polidano, C (1999) *New Public Management in Developing Countries*, Institute for Development Policy and Management, IDPM Public Policy Working Paper No 13, Nov 1999, Manchester

- Pollit, C and Bouckaert, G (2000): Public Administration Reform, London; Oxford University Press
- Pollit, C. (1990) Managerialism and the Public Service: Anglo-American Experience, Oxford: Blackwell
- Pollit, C. (1993) Managerialism and the public services: the Anglo-American Experience 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell
- Pollit, C., Birchall, J. and Putnam, K. (1998) Decentralising Public Service management, London: Macmillan
- Pollitt, C and Bouckaert, G (2000) Public management reform, London: Oxford University
- Porter, L.W. and Lawler, E.E.III (1968) Managerial attitudes and Performance, IL, Irwin: Burr Ridge
- Porter, M.E. (1980) Competitive strategy: techniques for analyzing industries and competitors, New York: The Free Press.
- Potter, D. (2000) The Power of Colonial States, in Allen, T. and Thomas, A. (eds.) *Poverty and Development into the Twenty-First Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 271-287
- Prahalad, C.K and Hamel, G. (1990) The Core Competence of Corporation, *Harvard Business Review* 3: 79-91
- Prasser, S. (1990), "Reforming the public sector: strategies for change", in Kouzmin, A.,
- Price Waterhouse Coopers (1999) Tanzania Public Expenditure Review: Health and Education Financial Tracking Study, Final Report, (Vol. 1-11) Dar es Salam
- Procter, S., Currie, G., and Orme, H. (1999) The Empowerment of Middle Managers in a Community Health Trust: Structure, Responsibility and Culture, *Personnel Review* 28(3): 242-57

- Public Agenda, Accra, Ghana (Fredrick Asiamah) Procurement Act "Is a Stab in the Back of Decentralisation" (18 June 2007)
- Quinn, J. B. (2000) 'Outsourcing Innovation: the new Engine of Growth.' *Sloan Management Review*, 41 (4)
- Rainey, H.G and Bozeman, B. (2000) Comparing Public and Private Organizations: Empirical Research and the Power of the A Priori, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. 10: 447-469.
- Rainey, H.G, Pandey, S.K and Bozeman (1995): Research Note: Public and Private Managers: Perceptions of Red Tape; *Public Administration Review* **55**: 567 – 74
- Rainey, H.G. and Chun, H.C (2005) Public and Private Management Compared, in E.
- Ramsay, H (1997) Cycles of Control: worker participation in sociological and historical perspective, *Sociology*, 11: 481-506
- Ramsay, H. (1977) Worker Participation in Sociological and Historical Perspective, *Sociology*, 11(3): 481-506
- Redman, T., Wilkinson, A., Snape, E. (1997), "Stuck in the middle? Managers in building societies", *Work, Employment and Society*, **11**(1): 101–14.
- Reed, D. (ed.) (1996) Structural adjustment, the environment, and sustainable development, Earthscan Publications Ltd
- Regen, F.L. (2002) GP Involvement in Primary Care Groups and Trusts: Driving Seat or Back Seat? Health Services Management Centre, Birmingham
- Reilly, P. and Tamkin, P. (1996) Outsourcing: A Flexible Option for the Future, Brighton: Institute of Employment Studies Representation, *Journal of Labour Research*, **22**(2): 335-54

- Richardson, K.(1998) The Effects of Public versus Private Decision Environment on the use of the Net present value Investment criterion, *Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting and Financial Management*, **10**: 21-52
- Robinson, Clinton. 1999. "Potential through relationships: a view of development." *Notes on Anthropology* 3(1): 15-27
- Rosenthal, P (2004) Management control as an employee resource: the case of front-line service workers, *Journal of Management Studies* **41**(4): 602-622
- Ross, J.A (1973) The Economic Theory of Agency: The Principal's Problems, *American Economic Review*, **63**: 134-139
- Rumsfield, D. (1983) A Politician-Turned Executive Surveys the Both Worlds, in J.L. Sabbagh, D. (1998), *Computer* 26: 18
- Salabcik, J and Meindl (1984): Corporate Attributions as Strategic Illusions of Management Control; *Administrative Science Quarterly* **29**: 238 – 254
- Savage, M., Barlow, J., Dickens, P., and Fielding, A. (1992) Property, Bureaucracy and Culture: Middle Class formation in contemporary Britain, London: Routledge
- Savedoff, W.D. (2004) '40th Anniversary: Kenneth Arrow and the Birth of Health Economics, World health Organisation Bulletin 82(2) (February
- Savedoff, W.D. and Hussmann, K. (2006) Why Health Systems are Prone to Corruption,
- Scarbrough, H., Burrell, G. (1996), "The axeman cometh: the changing roles and knowledge of middle managers", in Clegg, S., Palmer, G. (Eds), *The Politics of Management Knowledge*, Sage, London,
- Scase, R., Goffee, R. (1989), *Reluctant Managers: Their Work and Lifestyles*, Unwin Hyman, London

- Schmidt-Hemel, K. (1994) The macroeconomics of Public Sector deficit: A Synthesis, in W. Easterly, C. Rodriguez, and K. Schmidt-Hemel (eds) *Public Sector Deficits and Macroeconomic Performance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Schmidt-Hemel, K. (1996) Fiscal Adjustment and growth: in and out of Africa, *Journal of African Economics*, 5(3): 7-59
- Schwartz, S.H. (1999) Cultural Value Differences: some implications for work, *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 48: 23-47
- Schwenk, C.R. (1990) Conflicts in Organisational Decision Making: An Exploratory Study of its Effects on For-Profit and Not-for-Profit Organisations', *Management Science*, 36: 436-48
- Scott, N. (Eds), *Dynamics in Australian Public Management: Selected Essays*, Macmillan, Melbourne, pp.185-99
- Scott, W.D. (1985) The Delivery of medical Services in Hospitals: A Report for the Hong Kong Government, December, Hong Kong: Government Printer
- Scott, J (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance*, New Haven: Yale University
- Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J.F., Silverman, D. (2004) *Qualitative Research Practice*, London: Sage
- Sedmak, M. (2007), "Five misunderstandings about case-study research" by Bent Flyvbjerg: Critique in the context of teaching Operations Management', *BMAF Magazine, Higher Education Academy*, Vol. 1, No. 1. (In press)
- Sehested, K. (2002) How NPM Challenge the Roles of Professional, *International Journal of Public Administration*, 25(12): 1513-37

- Sewell, G. and Wilkinson, B. (1992) 'Empowerment or Emasculation: Shopfloor Surveillance in a Total Quality Organisation', in P. Blyton, and P. Turnbull (eds.) *Reassessing Human Resource Management*, London: Sage
- Shayo, H. (2007) New anti-corruption bill: more questions than answers, Dares Salaam: IPP Media (24/04/07)
- Shirley, M (1999): Bureaucrats in Business: The Role of Privatisation and Corporatisation in State-owned Enterprise Reform, *World Development*, 27: 115 – 36
- Shirley, M. and Xu, C.L. (2001) The Empirical Effects of Performance Contracts, *Journal of Law, Economics and Organisation*, 17(1): 168-200
- Shotter, J. (1993) Cultural Politics of Everyday Life: Social Constructionism, Rhetoric, and Knowing of the Third Kind. Milton Keynes: Open University Press
- Sims, H. P., Szilagyi, A., & Keller, R. T. (1976) The measurement of job characteristics
- Sission, K. (1994) In Search of HRM, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 32(2): 201-11
- Smith, J. and Walshe, K. (2004) Big Business: The Corporatisation of Primary Care in the UK and the USA, *Public Money and Management*: 87-96
- Somerset, M., Weiss, M., Fahey, T., Mears, R. (2001), "Dramaturgical study of meetings between general practitioners and representatives of pharmaceutical companies", *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 323 No.7327, pp.1481–4.
- Somuah, S. (2003) Ghana Jumps into Business Process Outsourcing (BPO), IDG News Service, Africa Bureau (www.idg.com.sg/idgwww.nsf) (01/01/2005
- Soreide, T. (2002) Corruption in Public procurement: causes, consequences and cures, Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute
- Stake, R. (1995) *The art of case research* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- Stark, A (2002) What is the new public management? *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 12(1): 137-51

- Staw, B., Sanderland, L and Dulton, J (1981) Threat-Rigidity Effects in Organisational Behaviour: A Multilevel Analysis; *Administrative Sciences Quarterly*, **26**: 501 – 524
- Stevens, M. and Teggemann, S. (2003) Comparative Experience of with Administrative Reform in Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia, Working Paper, Public Sector Reform and Capacity Building Unit, Africa Region, *The World Bank*
- Sullivan, W.M. (2000) Medicine under threat: professionalism and professional identity. *Canadian Medical Association Journal* **162**(5): 673-5
- Sutch, H (1999) The Relevance of New Public Management for Transition Countries, *Public Management Forum*, **3**: 1-3
- Tan, J (2002): Impact of Ownership Type on Environment – Strategy Linkage and Performance: Evidence from a Transitional Economy; *Journal of Management Studies*, **39**: 333 – 54
- Tannenbaum, A.S (1968), *Control in Organizations*, McGraw-Hill,, New York, NY
- Taylor, P and Bain, P. (1999) An assembly line in the head: worker and employee relations in the call centre, *Industrial Relations Journal*, **30**(2): 101-17
- Tengey, S. (2006) Third World Nations' Variant of New Public Management (NPM): Reassessing the Applicability of NPM reforms for Developing Countries, Paper presented at the 12th *International Conference on Public-Private Partnerships*, 20-24th June 2006 in Riga, Latvia
- Thomas, A., Woldesenbet, K and Tengey, S (unpublished) An African Public Management? Background paper for APACS Project, Open University Business School, UK (28/07/2008)
- Thomas, A., Woldesenbet, K and Tengey, S (2008) (unpublished) APACS: Research Partnership Proposal on African Public Management, Open University Business School, UK

- Thomas, R. and Davies, A. (2005) Theorizing the Micro-politics of Resistance: NPM and Managerial Identities in the UK Public Services, *Organisation Studies*, **26**(5): 683-706
- Thompson, A.J and Strickland, A. (1983) Strategy Formulation and Implementation, Business Publications, Plano: TX
- Thompson, J.D. (1967) Organisations in Action, New York: McGraw-Hill
- Townley, B.1 (1996) Accounting in Detail: Accounting for Individual Performance, *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, **7**: 565-84
- Transparency International, Global Corruption Report, Berlin (obtained online from www.transparency.org) (22/06/2007)
- Transparency, New Public management: Puzzles of Democracy and the Influence of Citizens, *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, **10**(3): 267-95
- Turner, A. N. & Lawrence, P. R. (1965) *Industrial job and the worker* Cambridge, MA:
- Uhr, J. (1990) Ethics and the Australian public service: making managerialism work. Current
- Uhr, J. (1990), "Ethics and the Australian public service: making managerialism work", *Current Affairs Bulletin*, **66**(11): 22-27
- Van de Walle, N (2005) The Donors and the State in Africa: How much has changed, in Engel, U and Oslen, G.R (eds.) Democracy and Political Change in Sub-Saharan Africa, London: Routeledge, pp. 193-219
- Warwick, D.P. (1975) A Theory of Public Bureaucracy, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Watzlawick, P. (1979) *La Realite de la Realite*, Seuil, Paris
- Watzlawick, P. (ed) (1984) *The Invented Reality*, London: Norton
- Webster, M. and Alder, C. (1997) 'Subcontracting within the Supply Chain for Electronics Assembly Manufacture', *International Journal of Operations and production Management*, **17**(9/10)

- Wei, Y. (2002) Corporatisation and Privatisation: A Chinese Perspective, *North-western Journal International Law and Business*, **22**: 219-34
- Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.J. (2001) *Discourse as Data*, London: Sage, pp229-66
- Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.J. (eds.) (2001) *Discourse Theory and Practice*, London: Sage
- Whitfield, D. (2001) Public Services or Corporate Welfare: Rethinking the Nation State in the Global Economy, London: Pluto
- Wilkinson, A. (1998) Empowerment: Theory and Practice, *Personnel Review*, **27**(1): 40-56
- Williams, M.W. (1984) Nkrumahism as an Ideological Embodiment of Leftist within the African World, *Journal of Black Studies*, **15**(1): 117-34
- Williamson, O.E. (1985) *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism*, New York: Free
- Willmott, H. (1997) "Rethinking management and managerial work: capitalism, control, and subjectivity." *Human Relations*, **50**(11): 1329-1359
- Winkleman, M., Dole, D. and Pinkard, L. (1993) 'The Outsourcing Source Book, *Journal of Business Strategy*, **14**(3): 52-6
- Wirtz, B.W. (2001) Reconfigurations of Value Chains in Converging Media and Communications Markets, *Long Range Planning*, **34**: 489-506
- Woofitt, R. (2001) 'Researching Psychic Practitioners: Conversation Analysis', in Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.J. (eds.) *Discourse as Data*, London: Sage, pp49-92
- World Bank
- World Bank (1989) *Ghana: Structural Adjustment for Growth*, Western Africa Department, Washington, DC.
- World Bank (1998); *Enhancing the Roles of Government in Pacific Island Economies*, Washington D.C., The World Bank, www.fijilive.com; www.fijivillage.com

- World Bank, Ghana: World Bank Approves US\$26m_for Ghana Small Town Water Supply and Sanitation Project', News Release No. 2005-55-AFR
- Yamamoto, K (2004): Corporatisation of National Universities in Japan: Revolution for Governance or Rhetoric for Downsizing *Financial Accountability and Management* **20** (2): 153: 81
- Yin, R. (1984) Case study research, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications
- Yin, R.K. (2003) Case Study Research: design and methods, London: Sage
- Yousfi, H. (2007) *Culture & Development: A Review of Literature - the continuing tensions between modern standards and local contexts*, Working Paper no.50, Agence Française de Développement, Paris.
- Yuen, P.P (1994): The Corporatisation of Public Health Services in Hong Kong: A Possible Public Choice Explanation, *Asian Journal of Public Administration*, **16**: (2): 165 – 81
- Zhang, L.Y (2004) The Role of Coporatisation and Stock Market Listing in Reforming China's State Industry, *World Development*, **32** (12): 2031-2047

346

..

APPENDIX A

Detailed Interview Guide

Introduction

The interview guide is set out in four sections. In section one, the objective is to understand where, when and how the initiative to outsource health services emerged. Section two is concerned with who is involved in the policy design/planning/implementation and the major relationship between these actors while section three concentrates on the major issues in outsourcing health provision. The final section explores the coping strategies managers adopted in responding to the identified issues, as well as lessons learnt to guide future direction on outsourcing initiatives.

Outsourcing as a means of delivering public health services: objectives and arguments

Can you tell me how this initiative first came about? (Probe) For how long has this been happening?

- What were the reasons? (probe) Any other reasons? (The aim here is to understand the various reasons or objectives of outsourcing, the sort of arguments advanced in support of outsourcing, and from whose perspectives)
- Were there any doubts, concerns or reservations about this initiative? (This question would help understand general reaction to the initiative, and what fears the people have about outsourcing of health services)

Policy decision, planning and implementation: major actors and relationships

Who were involved in:

- The initial decision to outsource this function? (this item would clarify who is or is not involved in taking new initiatives)
- Designing the policy and planning implementation? (Help to know who are involved in implementing public policies, and also to see what sort of inputs public employees, other than politicians are able to make to the project implementation process.
- Who else, in your view, should have been involved in the implementation? (to see whether decisions on implementation reflect the general views of the people)
- How do the actors relate to each other? (Probe) who reports to who? Can you tell me the chain of command? Who has the final say in decisions regarding project implementation? (this is a critical and sensitive area that helps to bring out the power relations, politics and general relationships among the actors, and what these relationships reflect or suggest about contradictions, dilemmas and conflicts in NPM)

Main issues and assessment: successes and challenges

How has this outsourcing initiative actually gone?

- What has actually happened so far? (Probe) tell me a bit about the project (this is simply to prompt respondents to tell a story of one of the outsourcing projects they have experienced. Areas of success and /or failures could be suggested from these stories).

- What worked well and what didn't? (This is actually a probe into the previous question. If the previous question gets answered fully, this one becomes irrelevant)
- What challenges have you personally encountered? (would help understand some of the challenges/conflicts respondents have had with this initiative- emphasis on the personal challenges managers have faced)
- How have you managed them (would help give an indication of respondents' (especially, managers') ability to manage conflictual situations)
- What challenges were encountered by the various actors?
- How have they managed these challenges? (This question would help understand the coping abilities but especially various ways that respondents (managers especially) try to manage or cope in the face of conflicts and difficulties?)
- In light of these challenges do you think outsourcing should be encouraged? (This is meant to ascertain the attitude of respondents to conflicts: do they see conflicts as unusual and something to be avoided or as a normal part of organisation?)

Lessons learned: future directions

What have you personally learned from this project that can serve as a guide for future projects (probe) what would work and what may not work under what circumstances? (To understand how organisations (managers) learn and how their present experiences guide their future actions?)

- What have you learned about what someone in your role should do differently? (probe) Do you think you were allowed to play your role as effectively as you

wished? (To see whether respondents (managers, especially) think they have been given to the power and autonomy in making their decisions regarding policy implementation)

- What do you think others should do differently?

APPENDIX B

Pilot Study Interview Guide

Section one: Changes in public management and service delivery

1. Do you think the public sector has witnessed any changes over the past decade?
2. What has been the nature and content of these changes?
3. Have you been personally involved in any specific government outsourcing projects?
4. What has changed in managing public establishments in relation to:
 - Their power and ability to take decisions
 - Politicians' control over public managers
 - The size of permanent government employees
 - The size of temporary staff
 - The use of private expertise to deliver public services?
8. What impacts have these changes had on the:
 - The power of politicians?
 - The power of managers?
 - The power relations between politicians and public managers

Section two: rationale for NPM strategy-outsourcing

1. What, in your view, are the major drivers and objectives of government outsourcing projects?
2. Are you aware of any economic argument for such initiatives?
3. Do you have any idea how such initiatives emerge? If yes, who are the major brains behind them?
4. Are you aware of any special documents that can provide details on such issues?

5. Which other external contributors whose views might influence such public policy initiatives?
6. Do you know of the nature and extent of public managers' involvement in this process?
7. In your view, do public managers have any degree of autonomy in making decisions regarding the implementation of public policies?

Section three: Relationships and level of negotiation

1. How are you able to perform in your position/role as a professional and a public manager?
2. Have there ever been instances where your position on a specific policy implementation based on your professional expertise seems to be at variance with those of politicians and other managers?
3. What is the degree to which you are able to maintain your professionalism and professional standpoint under such situations?
4. Has there been any visible sign of conflicts between you and:
 - politicians
 - Public managers?
5. Do you take instructions directly from:
 - politicians , or
 - Public managers?
6. What do you see the public manager's role to be in this relationship?
7. How would you describe the position of public managers in this relationship?
8. In your view, do public managers have enough power to take decisions regarding the delivery of services which you are involved in providing?
9. How often do they (managers) have to contact politicians before making decisions

Section Four: Effects of relationships on the work of public managers

1. How would you describe the relationship between you, managers and politicians?
2. Do you see conflicts arising between you, managers and politicians?
3. How have you attempted to resolve these conflicts, paradoxes and ambiguities?
4. What strategies or resources do you employ in getting around these conflicts?
5. What impacts do you think (your) employing these strategies have or would have on the quality of public service delivery?

Section Five: Impact on quality of service delivery

1. With your experience with past policy implementation issues, what would you say about the outcomes of managerial negotiation over policies?
2. Have you personally been involved with politicians or managers over negotiation of policies?
3. What conclusions can you draw regarding the effects of negotiation over public policies?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT EXTRACTS

(Chief Executive-KATH)

Sam: I would be glad if you could either select one case and let's run through it or refer to various cases

Chief Executive (CE): I think I like to select cleaning, which has been one of the success stories.

Sam: How did the initiative to outsource come?

CE: From KATH

Sam: From which department in KATH? From the various heads of department or from where, I'd be glad if you could elaborate

CE: From my office

Sam: Why outsource?

CE: I made the decision to outsource because I looked at the cost/benefit analysis as well as what is core and non-core to us. The question is 'is it our core business? If it's not our core business, can somebody do it better? Then I looked at all the numerous problems we have faced. So I looked at quality of work, and also the affordability and availability of the service

Sam: So the quality of service is one of the drivers?

CE: Yes, it is

Sam: Can't your staff deliver the quality you expect?

CE: They have some expertise to deliver but they don't. There's an attitudinal problem facing government work, which explains why they fail to deliver the quality we require but I'll return to that in a moment.

Sam: Were there any doubts or reservations about this initiative?

CE: Yes, you know it's a change, and in every change situation, people would doubt if it'll work, and if it works, what about the people who are already doing the job? What are they going to do, and what would people say, and stuff...I remember the first thing we did was outsourcing of cleaning in some of our departments. I would have wished we would outsource everything.

Sam: Why?

CE: It'd be better but the first question I had from my own management was where would the people go and work? And secondly from the union, 'what are you going to do to our people? So what we did was redeploy them, put them to other use and outsource them...and immediately we did that the same people, who have very poor working habit, said 'we can do it, and do it better'. So we outsourced cleaning of Oncology, Polyclinic and Physiotherapy units. When we started talking about outsourcing some of them thought we were going to sack them and they came complaining but I talked to my management and we sat them down and talked to them. They were formed into a company and we outsourced our cleaning and potter services (now security) to them.

Another example was our staff canteen where our own staffs in the kitchen department were handling. A committee was formed to overlook their operations. For a year there were lots of problems; they were running at a loss, so at a point I decided to outsource it. Immediately we said we wanted to outsource, that month, we started making profits. But we said we were bent on outsourcing it so we advertised it and got it outsourced and have

been making profits since then. The same management took it up but was making profits. We did so because we needed our peace of mind. We renew the contract every year when we are satisfied with evaluation. The cleaning is not different. Now we have two different committees responsible for our cleaning. I had wanted to get all departments' cleaning outsourced but then later decided that for any new department built the cleaning would be outsourced. We are hoping one day we'll outsource the cleaning of the entire hospital; I think that's the way forward: no strike, no industrial action; work would always be done.

Sam: Who were involved in planning the contract?

CE: Luckily for us we have a very strong supply chain management team, so they plan the contracts, once the agreement has been made to get the function outsourced. They follow all the procedures and get the contract awarded.

Sam: Do you involve those whose departments are affected by these projects in planning the contracts?

CE: Yes, we involve them, and they even have to evaluate the quality of work done before endorsing the certificates of payment for work done.

Sam: Are you satisfied with those involved; are there others who should have been involved as well?

CE: I think I've been satisfied so far; we have involved environmental sanitation, public health, and all relevant departments. In relation to canteen and feeding we involve the dieticians

Sam: Could you tell me a little about how the project has gone so far? What has worked or has not worked?

CE: What has worked well is the cleaning; we now have cleaner environments. We have also freed ourselves from all the problems of supervision, people not doing their jobs, pilfering of materials, etc. Once in a while a problem crops up but it's brought for redress,

and the people know if they don't work properly, they stand the chance to lose their jobs so they work really hard. With the catering we have seen some improvement in food quality and wide choice of food. Just as in cleaning, their contract can't be renewed unless management and the relevant head of department are satisfied with the outcomes of their performance review.

Sam: What problems did you encounter in the process?

CE: Not really, no problem so far

Sam: How would you rate the success level of the projects?

About 80% successful! Success in these areas is giving more weight to outsourcing as a means of delivering public sector jobs. Now we are thinking of outsourcing the entire security function; I'm thinking seriously about doing that and I'm considering the costs and benefits.

Sam: What is the criterion for measuring success: output and attainment of goals or the extent to which people follow rules and regulations?

CE: We focus on both

Sam: Doesn't this delay the processes unduly?

CE: Sometimes, it does, but you know we have got to put these structures there to prevent corrupt practices. Much as we want to attain results, we want people doing things right.

Sam: How autonomous is Komfo Anokye in terms of directives from Ministry of Health, etc?

CE: We are semi-autonomous; this is autonomy with central control because we have a substantial amount of our budget coming from government, so anything we do we have to seek approval from government first. We are hoping to attain financial autonomy status soon under privatisation but luckily we also have what we call internally generated funds,

which we generate ourselves, and use them although we still have, as a matter of formality, to seek approval first.

Sam: Was there anything that could have been done differently by you or by someone else?

CE: If we attain full autonomy, we hope in the near future we can outsource a lot of jobs even including some of our core business, leaving only the sensitive ones to our in-house staff. We can then cut down the size of non-core staff and increase the size of core staff ultimately.

Sam: What personal lessons have you learnt?

CE: There are lots of things the private people do which we can also do. What's crucial is a change of mindset. I have always said the first thing that everybody should ask themselves at the end of the working day is 'what have we done for the day, but people just come to while away the time and off they go and at the end of the month they get paid. So I believe outsourcing can be the way forward in improving the negative working habits in the public sector.

Sam: Any special advice for me as a management student?

CE: It's very difficult to go purely private so I think what we now have – autonomy with central control is about the best but I'm looking for a day when I'll have my financial autonomy which empowers me to hire and fire. If you fail to work for one day, you don't get paid for one day, but now, at the end of the month salaries come in mass not taking into account who has, and who hasn't, worked.

Sam: Thank you very much for your time.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT EXTRACTS

(Manager, Biomedical Engineering-KBu)

Sam: Could you please tell me your role at Korle Bu?

Bio: Project: Acquisition of medical equipment

Sam: What does this involve and how does it work?

Bio: There is the cost of acquisition and the cost of application. The application cost is made up of the various services some of which will include other responsibilities of the supplier of the equipment. If the supplier can't deliver they have the option to subcontract but such subcontractor must first be approved by the client. These applications can be decided on just a yearly basis during the warranty period or one year post warranty period. But depending on the complexity of the equipment you can decide to extend it. In biological engineering, if you combine the cost of acquisition plus the cost of application this equals the cost of ownership and the cost of ownership can be spread over several years. It's like you want a health care service in a particular location in Ghana. The service requires you to own certain pieces of equipment. The reason why the cost of acquisition is important is because the people who are going use the equipment are often not rich enough to even bear the cost of acquisition, and consequently the cost of ownership, which involves the personnel to operate equipment daily consumables in relation to the use of the equipment including maintenance of the equipment. So we decided that once you work with us for one year, if you want the service to last for several years, assuming the health care service is free you can decide that you'd run that particular service for say ten years then you must be ready to bear that particular cost of ownership for ten years. However if

that health care service is not free you may decide to bear the cost of ownership for 5 years.

During this period the hospital would be generating some funds known as internally generated funds (IGF). This IGF becomes the seed money for the hospital foot the expenditure of the ownership of the equipment for the rest of the ten years after you've withdrawn the initial support. But it also depends on the complexity of the equipment. The MRI is like that. First of all it was bought by government for Korle Bu.

Sam: Would you mind explaining a bit further? I know very little about health and medical terminologies.

Bio: What I meant to say is that the cost of maintaining that MRI is higher than Korle Bu can bear. The yearly maintenance cost is roughly 10% of the cost of the equipment for a year. So this 10% plus the cost of the equipment equals the cost of ownership for a year. With the MRI the government is to contain the cost of ownership for 5 years, which is a grace period for Korle Bu to generate enough resources to be able to take care of the cost of ownership for the rest of the period. Hospital equipment is classified depending on their degree of complexity. The more complex the equipment the more likely you are to engage the services of the supplier for the provision of the related technical services, which include the preparation of the site, installing the equipment, maintaining the equipment, etc. Another factor is the risk level of the equipment. The higher the risk level the more likely they are to be given out on contract. In this you have two options: develop an in-house capacity to maintain the equipment or outsource it to external providers. One other reason is that there's a very limited market for medical equipment in Ghana, so it's not viable for the supplier to train people to man technical equipment, so if you outsource it to these providers you're helping to sustain the market and keep the supplier in business.

So if you don't allow the supplier to participate in this process then it is not likely you can keep them in business and in this case it's not possible to get the equipment you want from a local source. So there are a number of factors responsible for our decision to outsource. About 99% of the technology we use here is produced abroad, and so without this arrangement, it'll be practically impossible to source our equipment. This situation is completely different from developed countries, which have a wide range of suppliers to choose from.

Apart from technology even sometimes we have to import expertise, and this has forced to now engage in training our own staff, and sending others to be trained abroad. Some suppliers do not have the capacity to train so they are just simply men. This is one source of conflict between us and those who make decisions on who to supply given medical equipment. If we're brought into the process we are able to assess and advice which organizations are competent to train and which are not, but we are often left out of this process. This has resulted in certain equipment just lying idle because there are no experts to handle them and the supplier does not have the capacity to train the staff. Somehow we managed to come an agreement to set up a training school here in Korle Bu where the suppliers come down to train our staff as they set up the equipment for use. This has proved very helpful though it initially met with a lot opposition. Sometimes a few of our staff who have the know-how help in training others staff. We are encouraging this type of cooperation, with the ultimate aim of broadening the expertise base of healthcare staff here as well as in other health institutions throughout the country. We're also targeting training of those who could maintain the equipment to come and train here.

Sam: What challenges have you had so far? What didn't work well?

Bio: We've tried to do our best. There's no reason why a project should fail, with proper planning.

Sam: Are you completely autonomous in taking decisions?

Bio: To a very large extent although we still have to account to government. We are supposed to take decisions together to involve the professionals whose departments would be directly affected by such decisions, and this should be by means of consensus building via brainstorming. After this a document is prepared to be submitted by government for approval. But then at this stage, depending on the source of funding, the consultants would need to approve that document before it is accepted for implementation. While we have done well by building consensus, there has been a major setback in the sense that those who brainstorm for ideas are administrators, not managers or professionals who are able to determine the technical appropriateness of a given project document. But if the people are professionals in their area, they don't need a consultant. So the question is why not involve the professionals and avoid the consultants, saving some cost? This is the big question. Traditionally the hospital authorities normally present a list of medical equipment they think might be needed in any given year or period but as professionals we feel we, rather than hospital authorities, should decide what we need. And this has been a major source of conflicts between us and the hospital administrators, who think we are arrogating to ourselves too much authority but this not the case! It's been the central issue of debate for some time now. Is there any arrogation to professional work? That's what we have been trained to do; for me I don't see any arrogation in this case! I don't see why you have a problem with your equipment, and you call an engineer, and the engineer is not allowed to take decision based on his competence but instead, a consensus is required from people who are not engineers to take decision relating to issues of engineering nature, or call consultants.

If engineer has a problem, it should be discussed with other fellow engineers, not with a consultant who knows little about engineering. If a medical officer has a problem, they call other professionals of like mind not hospital administrator, as indicated by the direction we are going in Korle Bu. Again when it comes to deciding on which equipment to use, I would like to sit down with other technical men in the profession not with administrators who have nothing to contribute to the process.

Sam: Why do you think this has been so?

Bio: They always want to identify themselves with whatever is going on but they don't need to because at the end of the day we'll give them a report. So the professional element (failing to leave the professionals with little interference to do their work) has always been the central issue of concern. I was the first person to introduce biomedical engineering into the health sector it has not even been recognized as a profession in the civil service yet. So we're still struggling to gain recognition as professionals. But the central issue is that we want to be left alone to work as professionals and be held accountable for the outcome of our decision. As biomedical engineers we base our choice of equipment on the type of service we wish to render, not simply because you (hospital administration) have brought us a list of equipment you think might be good for us. It's difficult for me to assign specific reasons for this behaviour; if we were not to know what to do, then this line of action would be welcome but the type and level of service we are required to provide have all been specified and so it's not like someone would just get up and do what they want. So I don't see why they fail to leave us to operate as professionals. Every hospital has certain services to be provided and the type of service required determines the resources (physical and human) needed, and all these would determine the sort of financing a hospital may require at any give time. But that, in practical terms, is not the case here; this is the source of conflict between the professionals and administrators.

There are often conflicts between service providers and service managers. Service providers are those at the institutional level: hospital professionals, heads of department, etc. Then service managers are those who are directors and not in the institutions such as chief executives, etc. Some of them who have been brought in are not in tune with up to date day-to-day issues confronting the hospitals. The service providers at the institutional levels are those who have this bit of information. Service manager's appointment is political. They don't even have to be medical officers. The institutional managers must be health professionals: doctors. So the main cause of conflicts is the difference in knowledge between service managers and service providers. Institutional practice is technology; those who do not practice at this level lack that technology, yet they wish to dictate what should be done at the hospitals at any given time. They sometimes appoint someone from among service managers to manage a health institution and they create a lot of mess. How can you effectively manage something you have been out of touch with for a long time? If it happens that way, they tend to engage a number of professionals as consultants, which all increase the costs they purport to be saving.

To tell the truth there are 1001 health centres across the country that lack facilities and even expertise just because the decision to cite them was made without the health professionals. These are some of the problems. But me as a biomedical engineer, if there are no hindrances, I'll try to make the best out of the situation. Sometimes, they bring their own consultants simply because they always want to benefit from the project. If the professionals are allowed to manage these projects, the money will go to them and they (politicians) will not like that to happen. One of the biggest problems we have now is the distinction between service provision and policy formulation. MoH is for policy

formulation and the GHS and agencies are for service provision. The policy makers can't effectively determine where a specific facility should be located.

Sam: Is there anything that might have been done differently?

Bio: I think I've already made my points.

Sam: Thank you for your time.